



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>

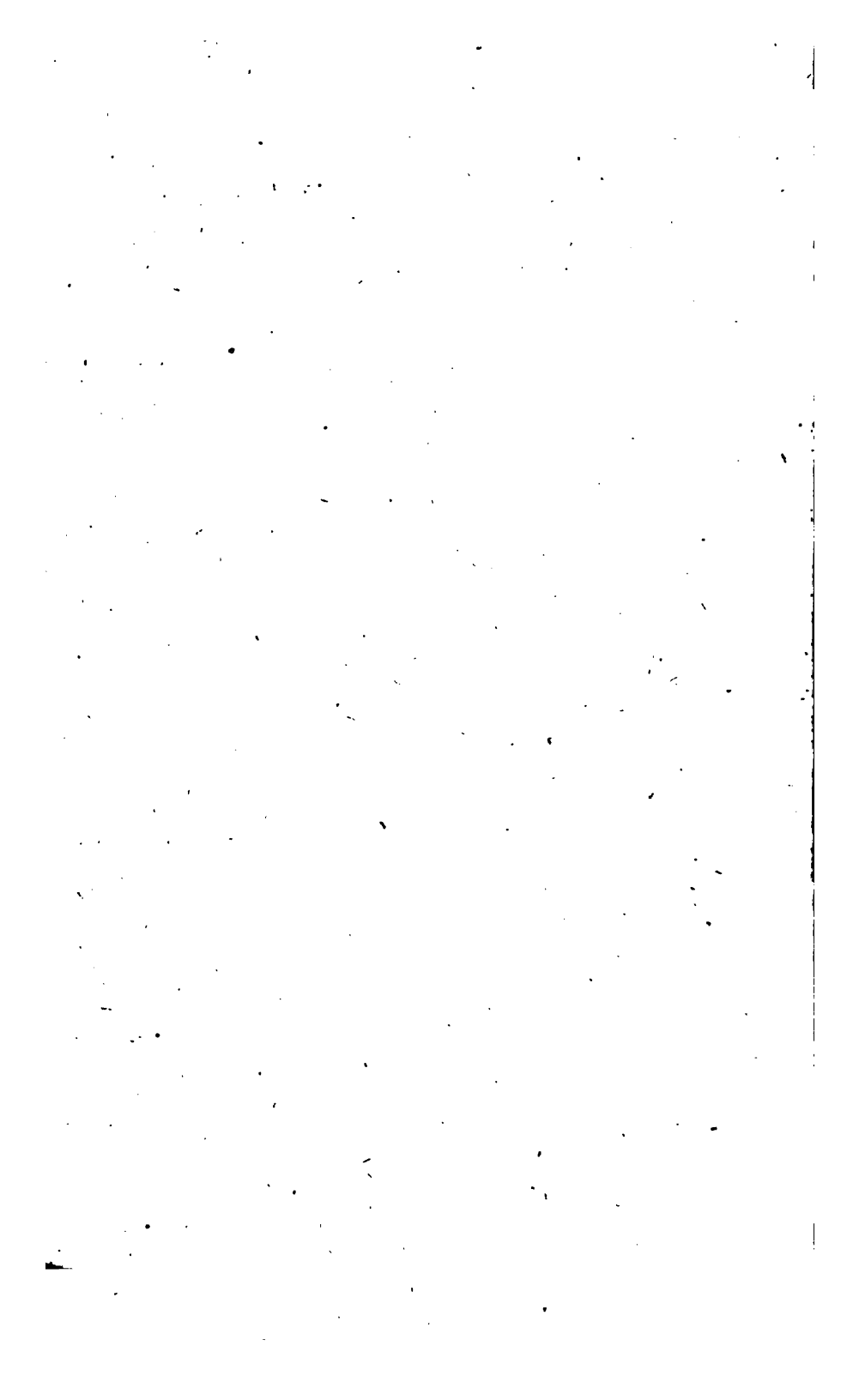
GIFT OF
GEORGE C. MAHON, Esq.,
TO THE LIBRARY OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN.

DA

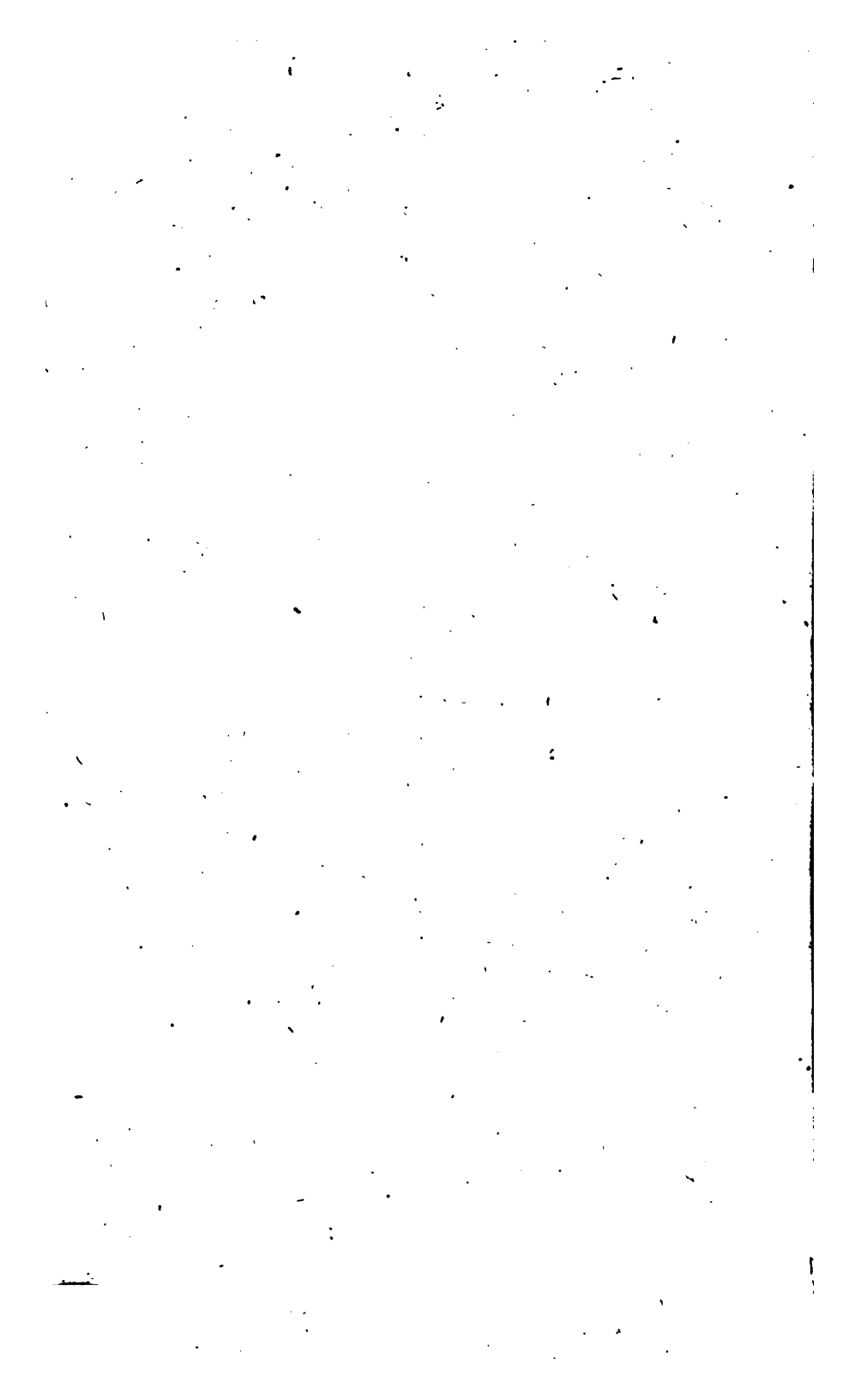
910

.T11

v. 2







AN
IMPARTIAL HISTORY
OF
IRELAND,

FROM THE PERIOD OF THE ENGLISH
INVASION TO THE PRESENT TIME.

FROM AUTHENTIC DOCUMENTS.

BY DENNIS TAAFFE.



VOL. II.

DUBLIN:

PRINTED BY J. CHRISTIE, 16, ROSS-LANE.

1810.

AN
IMPARTIAL HISTORY
OF
IRELAND,

FROM THE PERIOD OF THE ENGLISH INVASION
TO THE YEAR 1810.

ONE circumstance of calumnation, brought forward by Leland and Hume against the unfortunate Shane O'Neil, was forgotten in the preceding numbers. "Such was his rage against every thing English, that he hung one of his followers for eating English biscuit." That is not probable. 'Tis much more likely, that he was executed for holding treacherous correspondence with the enemy, of which his possession of English biscuit afforded presumptive proof; for how could he, on examination, account otherwise for the fact, since only English soldiers could give it to him? But to return to the Irish war.

Maguire, aided by O'Donnell, laid siege to his castle of Enniskillen; to the relief of which the deputy hastened with his forces, but on the way he learned that he was too late. The English garrison had already surrendered. The troops, detached against the besiegers, were totally defeated by O'Donnell; and the garrison, reduced to extremity of distress, surrendered, and were massacred by the angry victors, who thus

only retaliated the cruelty practised by Bingham on his taking the castle from its original owner, Maguire. O'Donnell knew how to take advantage of his victory; and, with his wonted rapidity, followed up his blow. He pierced into Connaught, harassed the quarters of the enemy, besieged the fort of Belleek, cut off a detachment sent to its relief, and gave English measure to the garrison. To complete his triumph, O'Donnell established one of the De Burgos, his associate, chieftain of his district, under the name of Mac-William, while Bingham, the queen's president of Connaught, was obliged to shrink from the conflict.

The queen and her ministry were justly alarmed at the intelligence of such a succession of defeats, received from enemies they were accustomed to undervalue, and saw the necessity of greater efforts in warring against the northern Irish. Their first endeavour was, to tamper with O'Donnell, in order to detach him from Tyrone, considered as the most powerful of the Irish chieftains; one without whose secret approbation the spirited opposition of O'Donnell, Maguire, &c. to the forementioned outrages, practised on them and their people, would scarcely have taken place. Not caring to rely too much on the success of their intrigues with O'Donnell and other chieftains, an army of veterans, distinguished by their service in Britanny, with a new levy raised in England, were dispatched under the command of Sir John Norris, a general of reputation. Tyrone justly dreaded, that these great prepara-

tions were directed against himself in particular. He saw that the plan of Elizabeth's council was, to insulate the north from the rest of the kingdom, by a chain of forts connecting the great lakes, which were to be defended by garrisons, and ships of war stationed on the lakes. That thus circumvented by sea and land, by the forces of England, the tribes would be gradually awed, or bribed into submission. Seeing that without striking some prompt and decisive blow, before the English reinforcements arrived, the defection of his tributaries and allies was too likely, in which case he could neither make war effectually, nor expect by submission, safety or honorable terms, he besieged the fort of Blackwater, whose garrison, like the rest, were injurious neighbours. Still wishing to avert the calamities of war, provided any endureable terms could be obtained, he wrote to the deputy, imputing his rising to necessity and self-defence. He in particular requested the lord general to entertain a favourable opinion of him, and not force him to war against his interest and inclination. But his implacable enemy, Bagnal, by intercepting his letters, and destroying his messengers, deprived him of his hopes from a pacific correspondence, and forced him to continue hostilities. The castle of Monaghan was besieged, and the attempt of Norris to relieve it produced a skirmish, in which the danger and address of Tyrone were remarkable. One Sedgrave, an English officer, observing where he had taken his station, and was issuing his orders, assaulted

and unhorsed him. The carl, in falling, contrived to seize his antagonist, and dragged him to the ground. The Englishman, who still had the advantage, prepared to dispatch him; but O'Neil, encumbered as he was, contrived to prevent the blow, by plunging a dagger deeply into the body of Sedgrave.

“ These petty hostilities were soon suspended by the weak and temporizing policy of the queen, impatient to disengage herself, by any means, from the disorders of Ireland. A commission arrived, whereby Wallop, the treasurer at war, and Gardiner, the chief justice, were empowered to treat with Tyrone and his associates, to hear their complaints, and to receive their overtures, in order to an effectual accommodation. The northern Irish obeyed the invitation, but peremptorily refused to meet the commissioners at Dundalk. The conference was held in open field, not as a submission of rebellious subjects, but a parley between contending leaders. Tyrone first explained his grievances; complained of the injustice of Bagnal, in usurping a jurisdiction in Ulster inconsistent with his just rights; of his unreasonable and implacable resentment in attempting to separate him from his wife, and with-holding her portion; of his perfidy in secreting his letters to the state, and by a series of injuries forcing him to take arms, and to apply to the queen's enemies for protection. He required a full pardon for himself and followers; that they should be allowed the full and free exercise of their religion; that Bagnal should be com-

pelled to pay his sister's portion, who had now sunk under the affliction occasioned by his cruelty; that his country should be freed from English garrisons and sheriffs; that his troop of horse should be restored to him; and that all those who had ravaged his territory should be obliged to due restitution. O'Donnell next proceeded to expatiate on the treachery of Sir John Perrot, and the injuries he had received in a cruel and unmerited captivity. The severities of Fitz-William to O'Toole, Mac-Mahon, and O'Dogherty, were not forgotten. Every inferior chieftain had his grievances to urge; and all concurred in the same general demands of a free exercise of religion, and an exemption from garrisons and sheriffs. They were heard with temper: some of their allegations were confessed to be just; and some indulgence acknowledged to be reasonable. In the essential articles, they were informed, that no decision could be made, until the royal pleasure should first be signified. In the mean time some points were propounded on the queen's part, tending to suspend their hostilities, till an equitable accommodation should be finished. It was demanded, that the insurgents should lay down their arms, admit sheriffs into their country, repair the forts they had demolished, leave the English garrisons unmolested, restore what they had unjustly seized, discover upon oath their transactions with foreign princes, and, begging pardon for their present rebellion, solemnly promise for the future to enter into no engagements against their sovereign.

But these haughty lords, who in the condescensions of government discerned its fears and weakness, rejected such overtures with disdain; and broke up the congress, consenting only to a truce of a few days.”*

This account is pretty near the truth, saving that an English bias in the writer is prevalent. This war is called petty, because every thing Irish must be either petty, barbarous, or even savage. The negotiation with the northerns was, the effect of a weak temporizing policy, for the same reason; because the impertinent fellows ought to be crushed at once: and because a learned book-bred gentleman, two centuries after the scene, claims deference to his own superior judgment, in censuring the policy of Elizabeth and her counsellors, such statesmen as Bacon, Cecil and Walsingham. They did not consider the war petty, but very serious and formidable, as it really proved in the result. Elizabeth was mortified at the disgrace and expence that accompanied her arms in Ireland, while she reaped glory and emolument from her wars in France and the Netherlands. The offer of peace only proves the wisdom of the English cabinet, and the temporary superiority of the northern Irish in arms. Their demands, and the influence of their example on the rest of Ireland, concur with the pacific offers to prove their success, though we have no exact detail of the military operations of the campaign of 1595. A cessation of arms

* Leland, Vol. II. Book IV. c. iv. p. 334.

was every thing to the English, whose resources were at some distance from the scene of action, and whose intrigues might profit of the interval, to detach some members from the sand-ropé confederacy of Irish chieftains. It was, on the part of the Irish, weak and temporizing policy, to grant a truce, as long as they remained masters of the field, until they obtained substantial pledges for the fulfilment of articles, agreed to by their adversaries only to gain time and opportunity for infringing them.

The oppressions, spoliations and cruelties, practised in Leinster, Munster and Connaught, had considerably broken and disheartened the inhabitants, but left a sore spirit of discontent rankling in their bosoms, ready to burst into flame, whensoever any prospect of revenge or redress appeared. The success and solicitations of the northerns stirred up partizans in these provinces, who might make useful diversions. They had a common cause, as well as a common country to defend. The free exercise of their religion, security for their lives, and the remnant of their properties, hitherto denied them, was a natural and just claim, though qualified insolence by party writers. The justice of their quarrel is partly confessed even by Leland, on the authority of Morryson, an hostile writer, who quotes Gen. Norris, commander-in-chief of the queen's forces.

“ Norris had judgment and equity to discern, that the hostilities of the Irish had been provoked by several instances of wanton insolence and oppression; and as the deputy declared for a ri-

gourous prosecution of the rebels, he was the more tempted to adopt the opposite principle of lenient and conciliating measures, even though he had not duly weighed the hazard and toil of pursuing an enemy to their bogs and woods, repelling their tumultuary incursions, and guarding against sudden and desultory attacks. He marched however with the lord-deputy to the borders of Tyrone, at the expiration of the truce, with a force so terrifying to the Northerns, that the rebel earl abandoned the fort of Blackwater, set fire to the town of Dungannon, without sparing his own house, destroyed the adjacent villages, and retired to his woods, which then overspread those parts of Ulster, that have since experienced the effects of industry and cultivation. In this progress, Tirone and his principal associates were indicted, summoned, condemned in a regular procedure, and proclaimed traitors. But such was the distress occasioned by their laying the country waste, that the lord-deputy was soon obliged to return to Dublin, having first stationed garrisons at Armagh and Monaghan, which latter place had been reduced, and was now abandoned by the enemy. According to his instructions, Sir John Norris was left with part of the royal army, on the borders of Ulster, to prosecute the war against the Northerns, while the lord-deputy professed to march against the insurgents of Leinster.”*

Both parties were wearied of the war, but looked for terms hardly attainable, and preca-

* Leland, Vol. II. Book IV. c. iv. p. 337.

rious if attained. Security for the *uti possidetis*, was sought by the northerns, with regard to temporals and spirituals. Submission to her authority, ecclesiastical, civil and military, was the main object of Elizabeth; which, for the present, she was obliged to postpone. Deeply engaged with her principal antagonist, Philip, in the wars of France and the Netherlands, where fame and emolument was often reaped by her forces, she was confounded and mortified, at the disgrace, losses and expence, attending her Irish wars, though conducted by Norris, one of the most distinguished generals of his age. Glad to disengage herself, at any rate, from a vexatious, losing contest, until she had leisure to prosecute it with all her power, she sent commissioners to treat with the chieftains at war. These did not want motives for a cessation of hostilities. Their territory, become the theatre of war, was wasted, even by their own defensive measures; which, added to at least partial neglect of agriculture, menaced scarcity. Philip, involved in the civil wars of France, was tardy in sending the promised succours; and the consecrated feather of a pretended Phenix, sent by the holy father, was but a poor substitute for the sinew of war. The conference was held in an open plain, near Dundalk, where a treaty of peace was signed, the terms of which I cannot admit, nor insert, from such biassed writers as Morrison and Leland; suffice it to say concerning it, that the treaty, not long after its conclusion, was violated by the English, a *l'Anglois*.

The associates of Tyrone in Connaught were, by the intolerable oppressions of Bingham, driven to the field once more. Their numbers and efforts were so considerable, that president Bingham was foiled in his attempts to dispossess them of some forts, which they had seized; and the lord-deputy and general Norris were constrained to march with their united forces to his aid. The gallant reply of the Irish, in one of these forts, to the summons of surrender, is memorable; "We would not surrender, though all your army were lord deputies." The insurrection was nevertheless suppressed. Pheagh Mac Hugh O'Byrne was prosecuted. O'Neil was hereupon necessitated to take the field again, in support of his allies, and to avenge the infractions of the late treaty.

Leland accordingly misrepresents these transactions, in which English honour is tarnished. "While the malecontents of Connaught retired before the queen's forces, and reserved themselves for some favourable occasion of returning to the field, the chieftains of the north grew still more impatient of their late treaty, and studied pretences to rescind it. Tirone, in particular, complained of injuries and provocations: insolently adding to his list of grievances, that after the pacification of Connaught, the state had presumed to prosecute his friend and ally Pheagh Mac-Hugh, with others of the insurgents of Leinster. In revenge of this intolerable wrong, the earl harassed the English garrison at Armagh, cut off their provisions, and invested the town. Norris

again marched to the northern borders. Before his arrival the garrison of Armagh had been obliged to capitulate, and were dismissed with honour and safety: and agreeably to that infatuated policy, which the general himself but too much favoured, a commission arrived from England for treating once again with the earl of Tirone, and accommodating the differences of the North by an amicable conference. The rebel earl had ventured on his petty hostilities merely to keep alive the zeal and spirit of his countrymen. The success of his practices in other provinces of Ireland, as well as of his negotiations with Spain, was as yet uncertain. He therefore gladly embraced the opportunity of delaying, and amusing the English government. He attended the commissioners with all the affectation of humility and resignation, repeated his solemn asseverations of the sincerity and integrity of his intentions, pretended to discover all the secret practices of his associates, and their correspondence with Spain; renouncing all his hopes of happiness both here and hereafter, if he were not truly and faithfully determined to approve himself a loyal subject to the queen, provided he might be pardoned, accepted as a subject, and protected from wrong.”*

Who can doubt, that the allies of Tyrone were included in the pacification; or that renewing the war against them afterwards was a manifest violation of the treaty? Why call a complaint of the infraction, insolence? or question O’Neil’s

* Leland, Vol. II. Book IV. c. iv. p. 340.

sincerity, in making or keeping treaties, more than that of his adversaries? In the whole course of Irish history, breach of faith much oftener occurs on the side of the invaders than of the natives. Inferior in force, they had recourse to stratagem, often to fraud and perfidy. Conscious of the perfidious machinations of his enemies, Tyrone, during the suspension of hostilities, ceased not to exercise his men, and maintain correspondence with his allies. Every day gave him additional strength, and fairer prospects of success. Nevertheless sensible, that, pending the foreign wars in which Elizabeth was engaged, the terms of an honorable peace could be more easily obtained, than after a general peace on the continent, he agreed to the pacific conference, but on such conditions as might assure performance of articles. The want of a reasonable security for the performance of articles he urged, from the facts, which Leland, with his usual insincerity, calls recurring to his old pretences. These were, frequent breach of promise on the part of the English government. That his hostages had not been exchanged, according to agreement; nor restitution made for the ravages committed on his lands. That he had but little hope of the performance of any articles; as he had been so often deceived by the queen's officers. That the intentions of the lord general were indeed just and honorable, but had been counteracted by the deputy; and, as Norris was speedily to be recalled from his command, and the grievances of the northerns were to be sub-

mitted to a new governor, whose principles and character were utterly unknown, he had less reason to expect an equitable conclusion. That he could not, with safety, nor with honor, attend the commissioners, within any walled town or castle, from the notorious design of abusing his confidence, if ever he put himself in their power, and detain him prisoner, in defiance of protections and promises.*

O'Neil had ample reasons for declining a conference within a walled town, by the testimony of his enemies, and their writers. Yet, unmindful of what he wrote a few pages before, Leland insinuates the contrary, imputing his conduct, on that occasion, to dissimulating craft. "He condescended, however, to propose a time of conference, which he well knew could not be accepted, provided it were held contrary to the queen's express orders, in the open field, as a parley, not in a walled town, as a submission of rebellious subjects." With what varnish does the Dr. strive to disguise the truth which he well knew? He well knew what anger the queen and her council testified to deputy Russel, for suffering O'Neil so easily to escape out of his hands, at a time

* Bagnal so far prevailed, that it became a question, whether he should not be committed to custody. Russel declared for this measure. . . . Tyrone was dismissed, to concert new mischief, to the utter dissatisfaction of the queen's English ministers.—Lel. Eliz. c. iv. p. 331. The queen was much displeased, that her commands with respect to Tyrone were not executed; and the lords of the English council sharply rebuked the deputy, for having so easily suffered him to escape out of his hands.—Morryson's Hist.

when he waited on him in Dublin with an assurance of safety, to confer amicably on matters of state. He well knew, even from the partial Morrison, the extreme desire of Bess and her ministry, to get possession of his person by any means, not excepting breach of faith, perjury, or if there be any thing worse. He was not ignorant, that the queen's express orders, for offering a conference, only in some walled town, were given, with a view, if possible, to inveigle him into captivity, and dispatch him; like Brien Roe O'Brien, invited to a banquet by De Clare, and there murdered, as intended; like O'Neil, of Clan-Hugh-boy, invited, from the same hellish motive, and massacred amidst his attendants, after Judas professions of esteem, and treacherous civilities of mock hospitality. Like the four hundred O'Moores, invited to a pacific conference, at Mullahmaisteen, there perfidiously massacred. Like the five brothers of the earl of Kildare, invited to dine with the deputy, sent prisoners from his table to the tower of London, hanged, quartered and gibbeted. Like the many attempts made on himself, by the queen and her ministry.

He was not deceived in his conjectures of a speedy change in the queen's Irish government. The English government, astonished at the little progress made by a general of such renown as Norris, with such means as they deemed more than sufficient, in the reduction of a people, whom they were habituated to view as undisciplined, disunited, and destitute of the resources of mo-

dern war. The ill success of the conferences, the general was directed to hold with Tyrone, in order to seize by stratagem, whom he could not conquer by force of arms, was peculiarly mortifying to a vindictive and sanguinary tyrant. Through the influence of the earl of Essex, rival and enemy of Norris, lord Burgh was appointed deputy; who, on his arrival, ordered Norris to depart to his government of Munster, where he sunk under the anguish of disgrace, in the arms of his brother.

The new deputy was resolved to prosecute the war with vigour; yet there was a month's cessation of arms with Tyrone, which both employed in preparations for the campaign. Burgh marched northwards, with his forces, attended by the lords of the Pale, and their followers, ordering Sir Conyers Clifford to march his forces through Connaught, and meet him at the fort of Blackwater. O'Nial lay with his main body entrenched near the town of Armagh. He sent notice to his allies in Connaught, to oppose the progress of Clifford. Tirrell, a kinsman, of the southern Hy-Niall, he sent with five hundred horse, to encourage his allies in Leinster to make a diversion. The first commencement of hostilities seemed to augur well to the cause of Ireland. A son of lord Trimbleston was sent, with a detachment of a thousand horse, to attack Tirrell. But the ability of the leader compensated the deficiency of his numbers. He gave the Anglicans a total defeat, and sent their commander prisoner to O'Nial. Clifford was arrested in his

progress through Connaught, compelled to retreat, and harassed, with considerable loss, until he took refuge in a fortress. Burgh, nevertheless, marched forward, and attacked the northern army in their entrenchments. The defence was obstinate; but the superiority of the Anglo-Irish forces, in the implements of modern warfare, procured them success. They fought their way to the fort of Blackwater, and took it. Having therein placed a garrison, the deputy resolved to pierce to Dungannon, the chief residence of O'Nial. He was again vigorously attacked; nor was he able to repel the assailants without loss and danger. On his march he met them again, advantageously posted in defiles, determined to dispute his passage. By the sudden death of lord Burgh, the command devolved on the earl of Kildare, who thought it most prudent to keep on the defensive. Nor did he long survive his predecessor. "His two foster-brothers had fallen, in rescuing him from the enemy; and such was his sense of their fidelity, that he pined with grief, and died lamenting their fall." (Lel.) How theatrical the description! Two generals die suddenly, one after the other, at the head of their forces, on the field of battle. One died, we are not told why, the other died of grief! Might he not have received a wound, when his foster-brothers died fighting by his side, attempting his rescue? What a pity we cannot obtain more accurate details of a campaign, which can be proved to have terminated favourably to the Irish, even from the forged narratives of scan-

calously bigotted historians, no more deserving credit to the disadvantage of Ireland, than Cox or Musgrave.

“ On the death of lord Burgh, the council, as usual, committed the reins of government to Sir Thomas Norris, lord president of Munster. But at his own request the queen immediately appointed a new administration. The civil government was committed to Loftus, archbishop of Dublin, and chancellor of Ireland, and to Sir Robert Gardiner, chief-justice; the military was entrusted to the earl of Ormond, with the title of lord-lieutenant of the army. So alarming were the disorders of Leinster, that the new general thought it necessary to confine himself to this province; while Sir Henry Bagnal was detached to the borders of Ulster to awe the Northerns, and support the garrisons of Armagh and Blackwater. But O’Nial, who dreaded that vigour which he had just experienced from English forces, found it expedient to recur once again to his former artifices. He affected particular satisfaction that so considerable a share of authority in Ireland had been committed to the earl of Ormond, from whom he looked for the regards of a countryman; and addressing himself in his usual terms of humiliation to this lord, lamented his situation, pleaded his grievances, and implored his favourable interposition with the queen, for pardon and protection to a repenting offender, whose foul relapses could not indeed be justified, but were palliated by the wrongs he had sustained. This new overture to

an accommodation was transmitted to the queen, and Ormond empowered to confer with him at Dundalk. Here it was agreed that a cessation of arms should be made for eight weeks, in order to give the northern lords an opportunity of stating their grievances at large, and transmitting them to the queen. Tirone, on his part, engaged to recal his forces from Leinster; to hold no correspondence with Spain during the cessation, but to discover any intelligence he might receive from thence; neither to commit nor countenance any outrage, nor aid those who should presume to violate the truce; to give safe conduct to her majesty's officers; to victual the fort of Blackwater; and, as a token of his humble duty, to deliver forty beeves for the use of the garrison. Ormond promised that the Northerns should have the same permission to purchase provisions in the Pale, which the queen's subjects were to be allowed in Ulster; that none of Tirone's associates depending on the truce should be seized by the state, without his consent; and that the soldiery should be restrained from all violence and rapine.

“ In the course of these treaties, so disgusting in the recital, another conference succeeded, in which the earl was informed of the conditions on which the queen was pleased to grant her gracious pardon to him, and all the inhabitants of Tirone.”*

Wherefore the change of administration, but the bad success of the war? Wherefore a truce,

* Leland, Vol. II. Book IV. c. iv. p. 344.

and proposal of a treaty, but the same. Were the queen's arms victorious, she would listen to no such terms as Leland states from partial Morryson; no nor so much as listen to truce or treaty. "He was required to renew his submission publicly and solemnly; to detach himself from his confederates, disperse his forces, and dismiss all strangers; to renounce the title of O'Nial, with all its pretended rights and jurisdictions; to repair the damages formerly made by him in the fort and bridge of Blackwater, and to furnish the garrison with provisions at an equitable rate; to discover all his transactions with Spain; to admit a sheriff into his country; to pay a fine in satisfaction for his offence; to deliver up all traitors who should attempt to conceal themselves in his lands; to surrender the sons of John O'Nial into the hands of Ormond; and as a surety for the faithful performance of those articles, to make his eldest son an hostage.

"The humility of Tirone was by this time considerably abated. He canvassed all these articles: objected, and demanded explanations. He could not engage to detach himself from his confederates, unless time were granted to them, to come in and submit, so that they might not charge him with a clandestine desertion of their interests; if he dismissed all strangers, he expected a safe-conduct for them: while he promised to renounce the name of O'Nial, he reserved the rights usually annexed to the chieftainry of his country. As he had not received the sons of John O'Nial from the state, he peremptorily refused to give them

up. He agreed to receive a sheriff, but required that a gentleman of the county only should be chosen to this office; and that the appointment should for some time be deferred. In consenting to deliver up all disloyal persons who should conceal themselves in Tirone, he excepted those who sought refuge with him, in a cause of conscience: and as to the demand of his eldest son, he utterly rejected it. Thus did he dictate the conditions on which he would accept his pardon. His pardon, at the pressing instance of the earl of Ormond, received the great seal; and to confirm the hopes entertained by the queen and her ministers of a speedy restoration of tranquillity in Ireland, O'Ruarc, the principal insurgent of Connaught, made an humble submission to Sir Conyers Clifford, and promised for himself and all his followers faithful allegiance to the crown, and all the duties of good subjects."*

Wherefore did he dictate his terms to the imperious arrogant Bess; or why did she accede to them? If the candid Doctor feels these treaties so disgusting in the recital, must not a proud imperious queen feel them at least as disgusting in the execution? Would she have transacted business so disgusting, without the compulsion of imperious necessity? Which party asked, which granted? The truth may be collected from the contrary mistatements of Moryson, Carte and Leland. "And although he could obtain but a truce of two months, yet he was not ignorant that

* Leland, Vol. II. Book IV. c. iv. p. 346.

the present shattered condition of the army, obliged Ormond to grant even this short respite.”* When did an enemy ask a truce from a shattered army, and afterwards dictate and impose terms? “Had he been gratified in his first demand, his dissimulation might have been continued; but now, having discovered the real weakness of his enemy, he determined to recommence hostilities, without the least regard to promises or treaties, which he considered as mere temporary expedients.”† What unintelligible jargon! In the page before, he knew the truce was extorted by the shattered condition of the army; in this page, 348, had he obtained a twelve month’s truce, his dissimulation might have been continued! Dissimulation of what? Of the enemy’s weakness! He is stated to have known that. Of hostile intentions? A truce never conceals, but merely suspends them, for the purpose of negotiation. Oh! it seems it was the short truce informed him of the enemy’s weakness. Would not a long one have informed him just as well, if he had not abundant means of coming to that knowledge from the operations of the campaign, and the reports of friends and enemies? If history said, that the English cabinet demanded a truce of twelve months, accompanied with a proposal to open a conference for establishing tranquillity in Ireland; that O’Nial would agree only to a truce of two months, a sufficient time for settling all differences, the story would be understood, however disgusting to English-

* Leland, Vol. II. Book IV. c. iv. p. 347.

† Ib. p. 348.

men, and their bigotted Irish partizans. The demand of a twelvemonth's truce would betray the insincerity of the English government in their pacific overtures, only craving time to assemble forces from the continent and England; while the confederacy would be enfeebled by delay; weakened and dissolved by English intrigues. If Hugh O'Nial really considered treaties as mere temporary expedients, he must have been indebted for that refinement to his English education, and his civilizing intercourse with the court of London. Certainly, it was unusual with his country; who, in all their wars and treaties, were more guided by pride and passion than by policy. From the usual practice of his adversaries, however, if he awaited not the termination of the truce, 'tis rather probable he was driven to recommence hostilities by some breach of the articles.

Bagnal was stationed with his forces in Newry, on the frontier of the Pale, and O'Nial, encamped between him and the garrison of Armagh, in order to cut off their communication, and deprive the garrison of the latter place of provisions. But his design was frustrated by the treachery of his own kinsmen. His brother Tir-laugh, and his bastard son Con, guided Bagnal by unfrequented roads, so as to elude the vigilance of the northerns, throw in a supply to the garrison of Armagh, and by a sudden attack on Tyrone's foraging parties, occasioned some confusion; Bagnal cautiously avoiding an engagement. O'Nial next marched to the fort of

Blackwater, which he blockaded. The queen's Irish government, informed of the danger, re-inforced Bagnal, and ordered him to raise the siege. He commanded four thousand five hundred foot, and five hundred horse, of those veterans, who served under Norris in France and Ireland, the forces of the Pale, and several well affected Irish clans. At a distance of three miles from the fort, he found the northern army drawn up to oppose him, composed of the forces of Tyrone and Tyrconnel, under their respective chieftains; and some troops from Connaught, under the command of the Mac-William de Burgo, amounting to four thousand five hundred foot, and six hundred horse. The forces here would appear to have been pretty equal; as the forces of the Pale, and the auxiliary clans, are not enumerated. These cannot be estimated at less than three or four thousand. Without such superiority, Bagnal, who is described by Captain Lee, one of the queen's officers, as a coward, and by Leland as cautious, would not venture an engagement with a general of tried ability and courage, who had already foiled commanders of great reputation. In cavalry too, he had a great superiority; for one of his auxiliaries, O'Reily, chieftain of his East-Brefny (Cavan), could bring one thousand four hundred horse into the field.* The want of judgment, attributed by

* The proof of this is in the Registry of the House of O'Reily, a copy of which is in the possession of Edward O'Reily of New-street. 'Tis therein stated, that deputy Sydney, in 1575, invited Hugh O'Nial, afterwards earl of

the English to Bagnal on this occasion, without explanation, seems to have consisted in his engaging the northerns in a position where his superiority in cavalry was of little avail. For 'tis more than probable, since O'Nial had his choice of ground, as being on the defensive, he chose such a position as would cover his wings by woods, morasses, or defiles, where cavalry could not deploy. The assault was violent; and in the heat of the engagement, an accidental explosion of some powder cast the English into disorder. Shortly after their general fell by a shot in the forehead. The victory of the northerns was complete. Fifteen hundred soldiers of the royal army, and thirteen gallant officers, were slain in the field. And that the slaughter was not still greater, is imputed by the English writers to the bravery of Montague, commander of the cavalry; by the Irish to the gallantry of O'Reily, a loyal chieftain, who lost his life in covering the retreat. The Irish acknowledged no greater loss, than two hundred slain, and six hundred wounded. They reckoned thirty-four ensigns taken, with other honors of war. But what was of real consequence, they became masters of all the artillery, ammunition, and provisions of the royal army, together with a quantity of Tyrone, Mac-Mahon, O'Donnel, Maguire, and the other chiefs of Ulster, as to an amicable conference, to the town of Drogheda. Hugh Conalach O'Reily, either informed, or suspecting that they were to be detained prisoners, suddenly marched to Duleek, with his cavalry, twenty-seven troops of light horse, and compelled the deputy to surrender the northern chieftains.

arms. The fort of Blackwater was immediately surrendered, and the remains of the royalists, who had fled for shelter to Armagh, were soon obliged to evacuate this town. The earl of Tyrone ordered, that the dead of the enemy should be interred, two thousand five hundred were left with their general, on the field of battle; eighteen captains, and many other gentlemen, whose names were unknown. This difference is easily explained; for supposing that Baker and other English writers, regarded only the loss sustained by the queen's forces, without noticing the loss of the Irish auxiliaries, both settlers and Milesians; whereas the Irish, masters of the field of battle, reckoned the slain without distinction.

This signal victory, the greatest, as Borlase says, the Irish ever gained, since the first landing of the English, had a decisive influence on the affairs of Ireland. The remnant of the bards, who escaped the persecutions of pretended civilizers, extolled the illustrious O'Nial, as the defender of the faith, the deliverer of his country from worse than Danish thralldom. The oppressed Irish, fired by this glorious example, condemned their own pusillanimity, in suffering so long under a grinding iron yoke, that assailed at once their persons, goods and conscience. The septs of Leinster, who had been gradually ejected from their fairest patrimonies, with circumstances of unmanly cruelty and perfidy, now rose in arms, to revenge their wrongs, and recover their property. The chieftain O'Moore, who had re-

gained possession of Leix, his antient patrimony, at the instance of Pierce Lacy, led some forces into Munster, to assist the discontented of that province. The great leaders of the south had numerous causes of complaint; and those, whose lands had been forfeited in the Desmond insurrection, harboured implacable resentment against their spoilers. Sir Thomas Norris, the queen's president, found it necessary to retire to Cork; not without being harassed in his retreat by O'Moore.

The insurrection spread rapidly in the south. The lords of Lixnaw, Fermoy, Mountgarret, Cahir, the Knights of the Glin and the Valley, were tutored by oppression, that Ireland, not England, was their real country, to whose interests, four hundred years residence, their fortunes, families, and the hopes of their prosperity, should attach them. They considered the claim of selfish England, to an eternal attachment from all those who emigrated thence to other countries, in preference to the land of their choice and residence, where they planted their families, and their prospects of prosperity, as unnatural and insolent. As if Normans, who had scarce resided one century in England, and were four centuries planted in Ireland, must prefer the interests of a transitory abode, where they touched only as sojourners, to those of their permanent habitation for themselves and posterity. They lamented the delusion, kept up by English craft, that made them consider their countrymen of older standing, who had, with them, a common country, and a common interest, as enemies, and

attach themselves to the natural enemy of both; whose object, in keeping them divided, was to subjugate both, and make them subservient instruments to their own power and aggrandizement. Why should we, who are natural born Irishmen, where we enjoy prosperity, and consequence, be looking to England, under the fantastical notion of a parent country, as if one country could engender another; as the wandering persecuted Jews, look with longing eyes to their Sion? If any country were entitled to so ridiculous a title, Normandy has a prior title to England; and Denmark, whence our forefathers emigrated southward, has a prior claim over both. But the most convincing argument, proving where their attachments should fix, along with their interests, lay, in the sore experience of spiritual and temporal tyranny, unrelentingly and inhumanly exercised over them, by the foreign government, arrogantly claiming their exclusive attachment, These joined the more antient inhabitants; and to give their party the greater weight, and completely to remove any apprehensions, that might be inspired into the settlers by the craft of the enemy, of a resumption of property by the antient inhabitants, the first act of Tyrone was, to revoke the unjust confiscation of Desmond's property. He caused James, nephew to the late unhappy Gerald, to be solemnly invested with the title of earl of Desmond; which, together with his lands now to be recovered, he stipulated to hold in vassalage to the O'Nial.

The condition of English government appeared now desperate. The chieftain of Tyrone, without the title of king, commanded the reverence of his countrymen, and possessed considerable authority in most of the open country. He sent ambassadors to Spain, enlarging on the success of his arms, professing attachment, and demanding succours. There can be scarce a doubt, in the actual posture of affairs, that if ten or twelve thousand veterans were sent by Philip, with sufficient arms and ammunition, the English power in Ireland, would be irrecoverably overthrown. “Repeated dispatches were sent into England, representing the dangerous situation of Irish affairs, with pressing instances for additional troops. The queen, more provoked at the vexatious burden, than solicitous for the real welfare of her Irish dominions, condemned the conduct of Ormond in not undertaking the northern war, in person, instead of entrusting it to Sir Henry Bagnal; ordered him passionately to purge the army of Irish; named Sir Richard Bingham, now restored to favour, to succeed this unhappy officer as marshal of Ireland; and on his sudden death, appointed Sir Samuel Bagnal to lead two thousand men into this kingdom. They had been destined to form a garrison at Loughfoyle on the back of the northern rebels; but now it was deemed necessary to station them in Leinster, in order to strengthen the heart of the kingdom.

“But such a provision was by no means thought adequate to the pressing necessities of Ireland.

At a time when this country was one general scene of insurrection, Elizabeth received intelligence from the king of Scots, that Philip of Spain was preparing for a powerful invasion of her dominions; that forty thousand men were raised for a descent on England, as was supposed; and twelve thousand destined for the assistance of her rebel-subjects in Ireland. The preservation of this kingdom was now become a serious object of attention in her councils; and so forcibly were they impressed with the danger and futility of all temporizing expedients, that it was universally agreed, that nothing but a formidable army, and an experienced general, could preserve the realm of Ireland from the enemies of the crown.”*

The Irish war was no longer beheld with contempt in England: Nothing less than a formidable army, headed by a brave and skilful general, was thought capable of preventing Ireland becoming the property of its own inhabitants. The earl of Essex, the queen's favourite, a commander of established reputation, was sent to the post of danger and honour. “ His patent was granted with the title of Lord Lieutenant, and with more extensive power than almost any governor had enjoyed: besides an extraordinary authority of pardoning all treasons, even such as touched the queen's person, of removing officers and conferring dignities, he was left to conduct the war at his own discretion, and furnished

* Leland, Vol. II. Book IV. c. iv. p. 351.

with an army of twenty thousand men, such a force as had not yet been sent into Ireland, and such as those, who were strangers to this country, conceived to be utterly irresistible.

The insurgents of Ireland seemed not dismayed by this formidable preparation; they even took occasion from thence to confirm the inveteracy of the disaffected, and to persuade the wavering, that their very being now depended on uniting bravely with their countrymen. "Our grievances," said they, "have been frequently laid before the throne, but without redress or notice. Treaties have been violated; submissions received, with a shameful and contemptuous disregard to the most solemn promises; our fortunes have been torn from us; our consciences have been enslaved; but our oppressors, not yet satiated, now prepare to exterminate the wretched natives who have presumed to assert their liberty, and thus to erect a tyrannical dominion even over those who call themselves English subjects, and are so infatuated as not to discern, that the present is the common cause of all." Such was the alarm conceived or affected in Ireland, that the queen thought it necessary, by proclamation, utterly to disavow all intentions against the liberty of a country, where she had so great a number of loyal subjects; the war she declared was to be directed only against the obstinately rebellious; and that her mercy should be still extended to those who sought it by sincere penitence and submission."*

* Leland, Vol. II. Book IV.] c. iv. p. 354.

Essex had been expressly commanded, agreeably to his own declared opinions, to strike directly at the North, as the focus and principal strength of the insurrection. But he was persuaded by the Irish council, interested in the new plantations in Munster, to march first southward, to settle the disturbances of that quarter. In his march through Leinster, he was considerably harassed by O'Moore, chieftain of Leix. At a place called the Pass of Plumes, from the quantity of plumes taken from his soldiers, the earl was attacked in his rear, with great advantage, and a number of his men slain. The siege of Lord Cahir's castle, his first military exploit in Ireland, was retarded ten days, by the active opposition he met with from the earl of Desmond. "So confident were the enemy, notwithstanding the inferiority of their numbers, that it was resolved to break from their retreats suddenly, and to attack different bodies of his army at once: but by some disagreement among their leaders, the scheme miscarried; and Essex was left to march through the province without opposition, and waste his forces in a fruitless pursuit of the rebels.

The northern insurgents in the mean time proceeded with address and vigour. The chieftain of Tirone was indefatigable in confirming his adherents, and defeating every attempt to seduce them. He stationed parties on the passes of Loughfoyle and Ballyshannon, to oppose any English garrisons that might attempt to settle there. He received ammunition from Spain; and,

in concurrence with O'Donnel, hired a considerable body of Scottish islanders to strengthen their forces, which by this time amounted to nine thousand foot, and fourteen hundred horse. He chose an advantageous ground between Dundalk and Newry, where he lay strongly entrenched with his main body; declaring his resolution of giving battle, and his confidence of success. Even the rebels of Leinster, though less numerous, had now learned to look on their enemies without terror. About six hundred of the queen's forces were encountered by the sept of O'Byrne; and instead of bravely defending themselves against inferiour numbers, were seized with a sudden panic, and shamefully defeated. And when Essex returned into Leinster with an enfeebled and diminished army, he could express his vexation only by decimating the unfortunate troops, cashiering their officers, and executing the chief delinquent."*

Essex had by this time learnt by experience, that the Irish, though still divided, were more formidable even than the apprehensions entertained in England. He lays down the plan of subjugating them by famine, intrigue, perfidy, a plan strictly followed by his successor, with the addition of forgery. "The earl had written to the queen from Munster, in terms totally different from those which his rash presumption had dictated in England. He now expatiates on the superiority of the enemy, represents the dis-

* Leland, Vol. II. B. IV. c. v. p. 356, 357.

affection as general, arising from an aversion both from the religion and government of England; hints at the expediency of breaking the rebels by secret practices; at the necessity of hunting out their priests, the chief agents in cementing them: recommends it to the queen, if she would have a strong party among the Irish, to hide from them all purpose of establishing English government, till their strength should be completely broken: advises that the coasts be guarded, the towns occupied by strong garrisons, and prevented from supplying the rebels: and upon comparison of the advantages and disadvantages of the state, expresses his confidence, that although the rebels be superiour in number, have abler bodies, and perfecter use of arms, yet as the queen commands the towns and champain countries, has a brave nobility and gallant officers, may cut off the enemy's provisions, and lay their territories waste, victory must in the end be certain, though the work of care, expence, and time."*

On his return to Dublin, Essex considered his force inadequate to the northern war; he therefore solicited the queen for an additional force of two thousand men, and contented himself for the present with making war on the Irish of Leix and O'Faly; (King and Queen's-county).

The queen was astonished and confounded, that she was so far out in her calculations on the reduction of Ireland. She felt cause to lament,

* Leland, Vol. II. B. IV. c. v. p. 357. 858.

that she paid no attention to Lee's memorial, presented to her four years before; predicting to her, that a war with Hugh O'Nial would prove the most serious and formidable she ever had on her hands; proving at the same time, that she might, by following moderate counsels, retain him in his allegiance, as a feudatory vassal prince, and make him a powerful instrument for the preservation of tranquillity in Ireland. As to the latter part, lord Verulam was exactly of the same opinion, at the conclusion of the war.

The demanded reinforcement arrived, and Essex prepared for his northern expedition. "Sir Conyers Clifford, lord-president of Connaught, was ordered to draw his forces to Belceek, in order to make a diversion on that side, while Essex made his grand attack upon the rebels. He obeyed, and marched with fifteen hundred foot, and about two hundred cavalry; when O'Ruarc, one of the rebel-leaders, issuing suddenly from his ambush, with no more than two hundred men, attacked the party in a mountainous and embarrassed situation, cast them into confusion, killed one hundred and twenty, among whom, Clifford himself, and some other officers, fell at the first onset, and pursued his victory, till by the valour of the horse he was again driven into his woods. But the queen's forces deprived of their general, and dreading to be again attacked by O'Donnel, instead of pursuing their intended course, deemed it necessary to return to their garrison. The loss in this encounter was of little moment, compared to the impression made on

the minds of the soldiery. The English levies shewed the utmost reluctance to march through a strange country, where at every step they were liable to be surprised ; and deserted in considerable numbers. The Irish royalists despised an unsuccessful general, and fled to their countrymen.”* The account of this expedition, left us by the English writers, such as Morrison and Leland, seems very inaccurate, when compared with the following extract from the annals of Donnegal.

“ Sir Conyers Clifford marched from Athlone towards Lough-Earn, to draw O'Neill to a close and general engagement. Sir Hugh O'Connor Don, who, in consideration of his services, had been honored with the dignity of military knighthood, accompanied him. Theobald Burke, surnamed the seaman, sailed from Galway to Sligo, to supply O'Connor Sligo with cannon and ammunition. O'Connor Sligo, at the head of a detachment of cavalry, kept the city of Sligo in awe, but was soon pressed by some squadrons of O'Donel's army, who took Sligo by a coup-de-main, before the arrival of Burke, and obliged O'Connor to retire into the castle of Colooney, where he was closely besieged. Clifford and O'Connor Don, informed of his situation, marched with 2000 infantry, and some squadrons of cavalry, to relieve him. O'Donell, hearing of their approach, left 200 horse, commanded by Nial Garve O'Donell, to block up O'Connor

* Leland, Vol. II. Book IV. c. v. p. 358. 359.

Sligo in Colooney, and, with the remainder of his army, marched to meet Clifford, in the defiles of the Curlieu mountains, where his cavalry could be of little service. O'Donell's troops, were, as usual, lightly armed, and his march, as usual, extremely rapid. To render the passes of the mountains more difficult, he felled some of the largest trees in the neighbourhood, with which he constructed an abbatis, that rendered the approach of the enemy's horse extremely difficult, and then gave orders for a general fast. Every soldier, imitating the example of his general, prepared himself for the approaching combat, by confession and communion; and scarce had divine service been concluded, on the festival of the Blessed Virgin, 15th of August, 1598, when the English army appeared, slowly advancing, with great order and regularity. A notion prevailed, about that time, among the native Irish, that one of the great objects of the reformation was, to impugn the virginity of the Blessed Mary, Mother of God; and this notion, which the language of the reformers but too fully justified, impressed such a horror against the English, on all orders of clergy and laity, that it rendered their hatred, if possible, more irreconcilable, and rendered every Englishman an object of abhorrence. O'Donel, impatient for the moment, which he was certain would be decisive of the fate of his country, harangued his men in their native language; he shewed them, that the advantage of their situation alone gave them a decided superiority over their opponents.

“ Moreover,” added he, “ were we even deprived of those advantages I have enumerated, we should trust to the great dispenser of eternal justice, to the dreadful avenger of iniquity and oppression, the success of our just and righteous cause. He has already doomed to destruction, those assassins, who have butchered our wives and our children, plundered us of our properties, set fire to our habitations, demolished our churches and monasteries, and who have changed the face of Ireland into a wild, uncultivated desert. On this day, more particularly, I trust to heaven for protection; a day, dedicated to the greatest of all saints, whom these enemies to all religion, endeavour to vilify; a day, on which we have purified our consciences, to defend honestly the cause of justice, against men, whose hands are reeking with blood, and who, not content with driving us from our native plains, come to hunt us, like wild beasts, into the mountains of Dunaveeragh. But what? I see you have not patience to hear a word more. Brave Irishmen, you burn for revenge. Scorning the advantage of this impregnable situation, let us rush down, and shew the world, that, guided by the Lord of life and death, we exterminated those oppressors of the human race. He who falls, will fall gloriously, fighting for justice, for liberty, and for his native country; his name will be remembered, while there is an Irishman on the face of the earth; and he, who survives, will be pointed at, as the companion of O’Donel, and the defender of his country. The congrega-

tion shall make way for him at the altar, saying, THAT HERO fought at the battle of Duna-veeragh.”*

A general cry, to be led to the charge, was the issue of a speech, pronounced with a loud commanding voice, by a man who had never been defeated; a man, whose courage was unquestionable, and whose strength and size were proportionate with his elevated enthusiasm. The Irish army rushed down the hills with incredible impetuosity; the onset was furious, and O'Rourke of Breffny appeared, unexpectedly, rushing down from another quarter, on the flank of the enemy. Immediately when he appeared, a tremendous shout from his party and O'Donell's ensued. The clashing of their swords, and the impetuosity of young O'Rourke, who breathed revenge for his father's death, threw the English into irreparable confusion. Their flight was precipitate; the pursuit relentless; the carnage frightful. Clifford was killed in the action; his head was severed from his body; and O'Connor escaped with difficulty to Ballintubber. O'Donell expressed an ardent wish, that O'Rourke would pursue him. “No,” said the other, “O'Connor Don is my brother-in-law, and I have no enemy, and I never will, but those sons of foreigners, those Saxons, who were the murderers of my father.” “Well then,” says O'Donell, staring at him, with a disdainful countenance, “by the hand of

* The reader may compare this speech with that of O'Sullivan, in Latin, but he must reflect, that it was delivered to the army in the Irish language.

my father, the O'Connor's shall now suffer for their base apostacy, or O'Donel shall be no more;" and so saying, he marched off to Ballintubber. O'Connor's clans, awed by his name, and despising their own chief, who joined Elizabeth, dragged his great gun* to the heights of Ballifinegan, within shot of the castle, the walls were soon battered, and O'Connor surrendered at discretion. The conqueror conveyed him in triumph to Colooney, where O'Connor Sligo was besieged, and sent Clifford's head into the castle, with a message, that if Colooney was not immediately surrendered, O'Connor Don's head should be sent in likewise. The castle of Colooney was therefore surrendered to the victorious O'Donel, who generously bestowed to the two O'Connor's their lives and properties, on condition of their joining in the general cause. The Irish writers say, that Clifford lost 1400 men in this action. Cambden's words are, *Cliffordo una*

* It is remarkable, that O'Donell had but one great gun in his army, a brass cannon, which was sent to him as a present from Spain. Nothing can be more ridiculous, than the accounts, which some English writers give of the Irish armies; it is certain, that, in general, they had nothing to oppose to the English but their courage, and their hardihood. "At the battle of Ballintubber," says Ledwich, "the Irish had 1200 pikes and 1000 muskets;" but it may not be amiss to state, that not 30 years ago there were people living, who spoke with persons that were at that battle, who stated that the Irish fought with sticks and pitchforks only, that there was but one musket in the engagement; and Borlace himself owns, that the Irish musketeers did not come into action, whereas the English, as he says, were then armed in the best manner possible.

cum Alexandro Radcliffe, de Ordsall, ex equestri ordine, et multis veteranis, occisis.

Immediately after these events, O'Connor Sligo coalesced against the queen with O'Connor Roe, but O'Connor Don could not be prevailed on to take any active part in favor of his countrymen.

Essex now wrote to England that the whole force, then under his command, was but four thousand effective men; that all his intended enterprizes must therefore be suspended; and that, consequently, he could draw towards the borders of Ulster, but three thousand five hundred foot, and three hundred horse. To justify this conduct, his letters were accompanied with the opinion of the principal officers subscribed and attested. With this force he arrived at the northern borders of the Pale. Tyrone appeared with his forces at some distance, and sent a messenger to Essex, to desire a parley, probably solicited thereto. He was answered, that the lord lieutenant would meet him next day, at the head of his army. He again solicited, and obtained permission to wait on his excellency, at a ford, near the principal town of the county of Louth. Thomas Lee, author of the memorial to queen Elizabeth, on the state of Ireland, the creature of Essex, and intimate of Tyrone, served as inter-nuncio between the two generals. They conferred a considerable time without witnesses; the subjects of which conference can only be surmised. It was at least rumoured, by the enemies of Essex, that he communicated his extravagant schemes of ambition to Tyrone, and agreed to

some secret articles of alliance with him. At least it is confessed, that Tyrone assured him, if he would take his directions, he would make him the greatest lord in England, and that, after this conference, he declared to his followers, that new disorders were soon to arise in England, which would require his presence in that country. Be that as it may, the conference was opened in form, with witnesses on each side. Tyrone repeated the grievances, which had induced the northerns to take arms, and proposed the conditions of peace. A general amnesty. A free exercise of religion. The restoration of their lands; and an exemption from English government. Essex promised to transmit their desires to the queen; and was even accused of promising to prevail on her to grant them, as highly equitable and reasonable. A truce was agreed on for six weeks, to be renewed for the same period, leaving each party at liberty to renew the war on a fortnight's previous notice.* If any of the Irish confederates should refuse to adhere to this agreement, Tyrone engaged to leave them to be prosecuted by the lord-lieutenant at his pleasure. Not long after this truce, Essex suddenly departed for England, leaving the government to the chancellor Loftus and Sir George Carew.

That the Irish confederates had successfully resisted the mighty force brought against them by Essex, was a great encouragement to their hopes of final success. It was not probable, that England would ever make a greater effort to

* Moryson, Sydney's letters, vol II. p. 125.

reduce them; and still farther to flatter their expectations, shortly after the departure of Essex, a fresh supply of money and ammunition arrived from Spain, with assurances of a powerful reinforcement from that country. Elevated by these promising appearances, Tyrone, at the first period, gave the stipulated notice of recommencing hostilities. "The royalists, not well prepared to oppose him, expostulated on this violation of his treaty." (Lel.) But the Dr. forgot his own statement, from cotemporary English authorities, that the treaty, if a truce may be so called, left each party at liberty to renew the war, on giving fourteen days previous notice. Doubtless, the Anglicans would willingly renew the truce, until reinforcements arrived from England; but O'Nial was left at liberty, by the conditions of that truce, to refuse a renewal thereof, on giving the stipulated notice. Accordingly, he replied, that he had given the necessary notifications of his intentions, conformably to the articles of the truce; nor was it in his power to recal them, as his confederates had received directions, in different parts of the kingdom, to renew the war.

Ormond, again appointed lord-lieutenant of the army, proceeded to the north, with such forces as he could collect; when, unhappily for himself and the cause he was embarked in, O'Nial parleyed, and agreed to renew the cessation for a month. It might justly be said of him, what was said of Hannibal, 'He knew how to gain a victory, but knew not how to profit by

it.' His success hitherto, and the reputation of his arms, encouraged him to hope, that he might gain over his countrymen, of English, as well as of Spanish origin, by negotiations, proclamations, and a pilgrimage to the holy cross of Tipperary. Thus the precious irrecoverable season of action was lost, when the shattered remains of a great army were unable to oppose him. Protracting war, on the defensive, is often useful; but the moment of victory, when the enemy were in confusion and dismay, offered the golden opportunity of pushing his advantages without intermission. Did he not know the obstinate, inflexible character of the imperious tyrant, with whom he was at war? That, in the interim, she would call forth all the resources of her dominions; which she did, even selling the crown jewels, and royal domains, borrowing loans from the people, obtaining unusual subsidies from parliament, to renew the war with redoubled vigor. He might be excusable for parleying with Essex; as he might have been persuaded, by the promises of the favorite, and what would he not promise, to avoid the disgrace of a defeat? to obtain peace on favorable terms. But there could be no reasonable apology for his agreeing to a cessation with Ormond, more artful and dangerous than his implacable enemy, Bagnal. His plan was, to carry the war into the Pale, and use all efforts and promptitude to conquer it, and other English partizans, which would give greater efficacy to his negociations and proclamations. If his reliance on tardy, irreso-

lute, and ill-directed Spanish succour, induced him to the cessation, Spain was his ruin.

We shall see to what little purpose he employed this interval, while Elizabeth exerted all the energies of her kingdom, to repair the losses and disgraces sustained in Ireland.

Tyrone, though tolerant beyond his age, so as to furnish his enemies with a pretence of taxing him with indifference to religion, deemed it good policy now to declare himself champion of the faith. Whether to gratify Rome and Spain, from whom he solicited and expected succours, or that religion might cement those whom temporal interests could not unite, he is said, by Leland, I have seen no other authority, to have published a proclamation, as follows :

“ Using hitherto more than ordinary favour towards all my countrymen, both for that you are generally by your professions Catholicks, and that naturally I am inclined to affect you, I have for these and other considerations abstained my forces from attempting to do you hindrance ; and the rather for that I did expect in processe of time you would enter into consideration of the lamentable estate of your poor country most tyrannically oppressed, and of your own gentle consciences in maintaining, relieving, and helping the enemies of God and our country, in wars infallibly tending to the promotion of heresie.

“ But now seeing you are so obstinate in that in which you have hitherto continued, of neces-

sitie I must use severity against you, whom otherwise I most entirely loved, in reclayming you by compulsion, when my long tollerance and happy victories, by God's particular favour doubtlessly obtained, could work no alteration in your consciences.

“ Considering notwithstanding the great calamitie and miserie whereunto you are most likely to fall, by persevering in that damnable estate, in which hitherto ye have lived, having thereof commiseration, hereby I thought good and convenient to forewarne you, requesting everie of you to come and joyn with me against the enemies of God and our poor country. If the same ye do not, I will use means not only to spoil you of all your goods, but according to the utmost of my power shall work what I can to dispossess you of all your lands; because you are the means whereby warres are maintained against the exaltation of the Catholick faith. Contrarywise, whosoever you shall be, that shall joyne with me; upon my conscience, and as to the contrary I shall answer before God, I will imploy myself to the utmost of my power, in their defence and for the extirpation of heresie, the planting of the Catholick religion, the delivery of our country of infinite murders, wicked and detestable policies, by which this kingdom was hitherto governed, nourished in obscurity and ignorance, maintained in barbarity and incivility, and consequently of infinite evils, which are too lamentable to be rehearsed.

“ And seeing these are motives most laudable

before any man of consideration, and before the Almighty most meritorious, which is chiefly to be respected, I thought myself in conscience bound, seeing God hath given me some power, to use all means for the reduction of this our poor afflicted country unto the Catholick faith, which can never be brought to any good pass, without either your destruction or helping hands: hereby protesting that I neither seek your lands, nor goods, nor do I purpose to plant any in your places, if you will adjoyn with me, but will extend what priviledges and liberties that heretofore ye have had, if it shall stand in my power: giving you to understand upon my salvation, that chiefly and principally I fight for the Catholick faith to be planted throughout all our poor country, as well in cities as elsewhere, as manifestly might appear, by that I rejected all other conditions proferred to me, this not being granted; which eftsone before by word of mouth I have protested, and do hereby protest, that if I had gotten to be king of Ireland, without having the Catholick religion which before I have mentioned, I would not the same accept.

“ Yet some other very catholickly given, to cover their bad consciences with cloaks of affected ignorance, will not seem to understand my good meaning therein, but according to their own corrupt consciences and judgments, conster my warres to be for my particularities, affirming that I never mentioned any points of religion in any articles of agreement which were to passe between the queen’s governours and me; con-

trary to my first article of agreement, which was to passe between me and the lord of Ormond, the general of all the queen's forces in Ireland; though very craftilie the same, as I was given to understand long after, was suppressed by them.

“ But some no doubt maliciously given are not contented to admit my warres to be lawfull, affirming that the same were begun upon some particular causes: which I admit as a thing impertinent, seeing the continuance thereof, as plainly to all men appeareth, is for the chiefest motive, or at least was a principal part thereof. Albeit the same was not then manifest, because so good a cause should not be committed to so doubtfull an entertainment as my power was then like to afford; and least a catholick cause should receive any disgrace, or should be scandalized by hereticks, I refrained myself from giving others to understand my intentions.

“ Which, notwithstanding many catholicks understanding, doe think themselves bound to obey the queen as their lawful prince: which is denied; in respect that she was deprived of all such kingdoms, dominions, and possessions, which otherwise perhaps should have been due unto her, and consequently of all subjection, in-somuch as she is left a private person, and no man bound to give her obedience; and beyond all this, such as were sworne to be faithful unto her, were by his holyness absolved from performance thereof, seeing she is, by a declaration of excommunication, pronounced a heretic; nei-

ther is there any revocation of the excommunication, as some catholicks do most falsely, for particular affection, surmise: for the sentence was in the beginning given for heresie, and for continued heresie the same was continued. It is a thing void of all reason, that his holyness should revoke the sentence, she persevering in heresie, yea, in mischieving and persecuting the catholicks.

“ But it may be, there was a mitigation made in favour of catholicks, by which they might be licensed in civil matters precisely to give her, during their inability, obedience; but not in any matter tending to the promotion of heresie. Wherefore, I earnestly beseech you all catholicks, and good loving countrymen, as you tender the exaltation of the catholic faith, and the utter extirpation of heresie, in this our poor distressed country, to consider the lamentable and most miserable state thereof. And now let us join altogether, to deliver this poor kingdom from that infection of heresie, with which it is, and shall be, if God do not specially favour us, most miserably infected: taking example by that most christian and catholick country of France; whose subjects, for defence of the catholic faith, yea, against their most natural king maintained warres so long, as by their means he was constrained to profess the catholick religion, duely submitting himself to the apostolick see of Rome; to which doubtless we may bring our country, you putting your helping hands to the same.

“ As for myself, I protest before God, and upon my salvation, I have been proffered oftentimes such conditions, as no man seeking his own private commodity, could refuse. But I, seeking the publick utilitie of my native country, and means for your salvation, will prosecute these warres, until that generally religion be planted throughout all Ireland.

“ So I rest, praying the Almighty to move your flinted hearts, to prefer the commodity and profit of our country before your own private ease.

Dunaveag, the fifteenth day of Nov. 1599.

O'NEALE.”*

He went afterwards on a pilgrimage to the holy cross, county of Tipperary, as well to impress an idea of his devotion, as to concert measures with his associates. The earl of Desmond addressed a letter to the king of Spain, inveighing against the tyranny of the English queen, exceeding that of Pharaoh or Nero, praying to be supplied with men and ammunition, that he might follow up his successes, and reduce those towns, to which his enemies had been driven for shelter. Another letter, signed by O'Nial, Desmond, Mac Carty More, and Dermot Mac Carty, was addressed to the pope, Clement, earnestly soliciting his holiness to make a provision of pious and learned pastors, for their

* E. MSS. Epis. Sterne. Bibl. Trin. Coll. Dub.

afflicted church, which they profess to cherish and protect.

While the leaders of the Irish confederates were thus busied in negotiations and foreign correspondence, Ormond labored to allay the terror of the English party. Indefatigable in strengthening and supplying the forts and garrisons, collecting and training the forces of the Pale, he earnestly importuned the English ministry, to provide speedily some effectual protection for their colony, before the Irish enemy would break into the Pale, and overwhelm them. At the expiration of the truce, he marched into Munster, to watch the measures and motions of Tyrone and his confederates.

During this stagnation of the confederates, Elizabeth made every possible exertion, and strained every nerve, to repair her losses in Ireland. Great reinforcements were sent to Charles Blount, lord Mountjoy, who was sent as commander in chief and lord deputy, accompanied by Sir George Carew, as president of Munster. They landed at Hoath, and arrived in Dublin, February, an. 1599.

Kind reader, if you have a heart to feel, a scene now opens, that must afflict you ; a scene of desolation and carnage. War, carried on, not after the manner of men, not even of the most barbarous nations, but after the practice of demons, if demons go to war. To exterminate a nation, by famine, forgery, treachery, unbounded cruelty, was the plan, contrived and commanded by a bloody tyrant and her council.

Fit instruments were chosen for the execution ; white-livered Charles Blount, of effeminate appearance, and treacherous Carew, of cold-blooded cruelty, whose callous hearts were never appalled, by the scenes of desolation and misery they produced ; and shrunk from no means, however dishonorable or infamous, to accomplish the destruction of the Irish. Yet these were, the restorers and followers of the gospel, reformers of religion, civilizers of nations !!!

The scenes that open to us now, are shocking to humanity, in the narration ; painful surely to me in the writing. However, we must sacrifice our feelings to truth. However distressing the rehearsal, we must discharge our duty, as well as we are able, in the arduous task of giving a faithful picture of those dismal times of ruin and sorrow, the extremes of human wickedness and human wretchedness. Oh, ye unbelievers, who question the severity of divine justice, in sentencing the wicked to future torments, read the following, and your doubts must be silenced.

Mountjoy followed up the plan, neglected by Norris, of cooping the northerns in their own territory, surrounding them by forts, and destroying their provisions and tillage. The day after his arrival, he received intelligence from Ormond, that Tyrone lay with some force in the western part of Munster. That he was so surrounded, by the troops of Clanrickard, Thomond, the vice-presidents of Munster, and his own, that he had no escape, but by the western

borders of the Pale; so that if the deputy should march thither, he would have a fair opportunity of intercepting him. Mountjoy accordingly marched to Molingar; where, after some fruitless delay, he learned, that Tyrone had escaped to the north. This unexpected escape threw suspicion on Clanrickard; but an incident soon happened, that made the loyalty of Ormond suspected. Sir George Carew, on his way to Cork, was entertained at Kilkenny, by Ormond; who informed him, that he was next day to have a conference with O'Moore, inviting him and his companion O'Brien of Thomond, to be witnesses. They complied; advising him to bring his own troop of two hundred horse, joined to the president's guard of one hundred. He replied, that it was unnecessary; and even commanded his own troop to halt, within two miles of the place of meeting, advancing only with seventeen armed men, while O'Moore awaited him with a band of pikemen, posting a body of five hundred foot and twenty horse, in an adjacent wood. Carew, disliking the situation of the place, and suspecting appearances, requested Ormond to retire. The latter, after a long conference with O'Moore, demanded to see one Archer, a Jesuit, as one who possessed influence with the insurgents. While he was engaged in conversation with him, the insurgents gradually advanced from the wood, and seized him. Carew and Thomond effected their escape with some danger and difficulty. Ormond's troop could not be per-

suaded to attempt his rescue. It need scarcely be observed, that the parley with O'Moore being over, any further delay deprived him of the protection of the olive branch, and that parleying with individuals of the party would be construed into tampering. In these times of jealousy and distrust, the earl was suspected of having wilfully delivered himself, and of having intended the capture of his two companions. It was alledged, that he had held frequent conferences with O'Nial, and had lately received a letter from that chieftain. Mountjoy received from O'Moore the terms, on which the earl's liberty was to be purchased. That her majesty's garrisons should be removed from his territory of Leix, and security given, that none should be stationed there after. That, if these securities should be denied them, the garrisons of O'Faly should be removed. That O'Moore and his followers should be received into protection for six weeks.* That, during the armistice, no forces should be sent against their confederates of Ulster.

Mountjoy, not displeased at the removal of a rival in power, and thinking the circumstance might induce the queen to send him reinforcements, paid no attention to the terms or proposal. He had sent detachments to Ardee, Dundalk, Newry, Carlingford, Kells, and every strong place on the northern borders of the Pale. Sir Henry Dowkra was sent, with four thousand

* For the purpose of agriculture, it being then early in spring.

men, to Lough Foyle; and, having provided for the security of Leinster, and sent provisions to the garrisons of Leix and O'Faly, he marched north, to favor the descent of Dowkra, by drawing off the attention of Tyrone. He found this chieftain strongly entrenched, between Newry and Armagh, attacked him vigorously, and drove him from his trenches, with more disgrace than loss. Mean while Dowkra landed at Lough Foyle, and fortified the city of Derry. The power of an Irish chieftain, destitute of revenue or a standing army, depended chiefly on opinion. Circumstances, in themselves trifling, such as his escape from Munster, his retreat from his trench, joined to the serious one of the force planted at Lough Foyle, in the rear of the insurgents, had a powerful effect on the fickle Irish. Numbers deserted the banners of O'Nial; many surrendered to Dowkra, and to Mountjoy, suing protection. Sir Arthur O'Nial, son of Tirlough Lynmough, submitted to Mountjoy, hoping to be invested with the title and estate of Tyrone. Nial Garuff O'Donel solicited the chieftainry of Tyrconnel, as the reward of his desertion. Though he could not satisfy the demands of all, by some concessions, and assurances of favor, he retained them in a dependence on English government.

Mountjoy's successful operations in the north were suspended for a while, by the necessary consequences of the plan he had to execute. That plan was formed in the queen's council in London. Experience proved the truth of Essex's

assertion, that the Irish were stronger, more skilful in the use of arms, and more numerous than his army, or indeed any army that would be sent. That the only sure way of conquering the Irish was, by starving them. That England possessed the means of famishing the Irish, by holding possession of all walled towns and fortified places. That, by garrisoning and victualling these, the troops should be continually on the alert, sallying out by night and day, and take every opportunity of burning or otherwise destroying all manner of provisions, beyond what they could carry with them. To burn villages, houses, drive cattle, indulge their appetites in every kind of licentiousness. In harvest, there was a favorable opportunity of burning, cutting, trampling standing corn; and in spring, the tillers employed in husbandry, and the cattle, should be assaulted, as Irish enemies. Every ploughman, driver, and plow horses, thus surprized and put to death, procured for the lucky perpetrators, applause of a victory. The brave garrisons of Leix and O'Faly were loyally busy in executing this charitable plan of civilizing the rude Irish, while Mountjoy was paling the north with forts and garrisons, and mining the power of O'Nial, by sowing division among his followers, and gaining deserters for the queen's service. Some of those provision destroying parties had the misfortune to be intercepted, and put to death. The Irish had the insolence, as Leland justly calls it, to resent those methods of civilization; as if fasting were

not an institution of their own religion, to nourish the soul by thinning the flesh. They had even the audacity to make reprisals on the loyal quarters of the Pale. " From the northern borders Mountjoy was again called into Leinster by the insolence of the rebellious septs of this province; and here again the well-affected were encouraged, and the insurgents confounded by his successful excursions. He pursued Tirrel and O'Moore into their retreats in Leix, where, in a bold attack upon the English forces, O'Moore was killed. This chieftain had some time before consented to release the earl of Ormond, on his giving hostages for the payment of a large ransom; and the deputy in this expedition had the good fortune to prevail on those who had the custody of these hostages to deliver them into his hands upon a promise of pardon and protection. The Leinster rebels, by driving the royalists into their fortified towns, and living long without molestation, had cultivated their lands, and established an unusual regularity and plenty in their districts. But now they were exposed to the most rueful havock from the queen's forces. The soldiers, encouraged by the example of their officers, every where cut down the standing corn with their swords, and devised every means to deprive the wretched inhabitants of all the necessaries of life. Famine was judged the speediest and most effectual means of reducing them; and therefore the deputy was secretly not displeased with the devastations made even in the well-affected quarters, by the improvident fury of the rebels.

The like melancholy expedient was practised in the northern provinces. The governour of Carricfergus, Sir Arthur Chichester, issued from his quarters, and for twenty miles round reduced the country to a desert. Sir Samuel Bagnal, with the garrison of Newry, proceeded with the same severity, and laid waste all the adjacent lands. All the English garrisons were daily employed in pillaging and wasting; while Tirone, with his dispirited army, shrunk gradually within narrower bounds. They were effectually prevented from sowing and cultivating their lands, which had formerly lain unmolested by the English, and at the approach of winter, the deputy again appeared on their borders. He again drove Tirone from his entrenchment, and demolished his works. The want of necessaries had driven the English garrison from Armagh, and made it impracticable to maintain this post, in a wasted country; he therefore marked out a place for a new fort, eight miles distant from this town, which he finished, and called Mount-Norris, in honour of the general, whom he deemed his master in the arts of war. Every day the enemy attempted to interrupt him by skirmishes, but were constantly repelled by his vigour and prudent dispositions. The last effort made by Tirone was to oppose his return by Carlingford; but here again he was bravely repelled with considerable loss. So that the reputation of this chieftain, so long the idol of his barbarous countrymen, was utterly overthrown, and his followers from all quarters fled from the miseries of war,

and sued to government for pardon and protection.

But while Mountjoy proceeded thus wisely and successfully in the prosecution of the Irish war, some alarming incidents in England threatened to interrupt his progress."*

Wisely and successfully indeed, he executed the divine plan of good queen Bess, sending myriads of men, women, and children to heaven, through long fasting, which is seldom unaccompanied with abundance of prayer and tears of contrition. Can any contrition be more feeling, than bowels rent by the agonizing pangs of hunger? A contrite stomach will, of course, cause a contrite heart; that is, a sure passport to heaven. Hence, we must conclude, that England never had so charitable a queen, to punish the flesh of the Irish nation, for the salvation of their nobler and immortal part. It was, moreover, absolutely indispensable, to pulling down the swelling pride of the Milesians, and teach them humility, the solid and deep foundation of christian perfection; which was accomplished, when they greedily lay on their bellies to eat grass. The posture, gesture, and occupation, were truly humble, and edifying. Let no captious reader bring her charity into suspicion, asking did she practice this holy regimen on herself? She did, as her most honorable, humane, and just council, who aided her by their advice, in the formation of this most christian plan, for

* Leland, Vol. II. B. IV. c. v. p. 377.

reforming civilizing, and gossellizing the poor wild Irish, witness. She did punish her flesh, in the same manner she devised for the happiness of the Irish, as the most chaste, unblemished, and immaculate maid of honor, attending on the blessed virgin queen, can attest; as all her honorable and upright courtiers can testify, where ever they be; part of which historians have recorded. Yea, she imitated the humility of the posture, adopted by the civilized Irish, in the meek and harmless occupation of biting grass, even to the roots, ferns, furs, barks and branches of trees. She divested herself of all her grandeur; she forgot her throne, scepter, and power. Her wardrobe of fine garments, her jewels, she had already parted, to execute the charitable plan. She lay in her undress, and a plain night gown, on the floor, for several days, and several nights. She would neither go to bed, eat, drink, or take any comfort, untill she fasted herself out of this world. If I am asked whither, I care not to know. But to the execution of the plan.

Mountjoy, in the full tide of his successful career, had like to have been arrested, by the tongue of Essex, who involved him in his London insurrection. However, his success in the execution of her favourite plan, so endeared him to the very soul of the virgin, that she wrote him a polite epistle, forgiving his weakness, assuring him of her love and friendship, and continuing him in the command. Thus encouraged, the hero proceeded on his mission with renewed ardour.

He animated the soldiers, by letting them have all the booty they could carry, leading them skilfully to excursions, where they met few to oppose them, and were sure of victory. This great man studied natural history, and finding that lions, and other carnivorous animals, usually lye in wait for prey, at streams, where cattle are wont to slacken their thirst, he, in like manner, left, on the confines of a desolated territory, some portion of corn, or other provision, untouched, near which an ambuscade was placed, that the famished groupes, who flocked thither, might be mercifully delivered from the lingering pangs of hunger. Thus, the soldiers, who before dreaded the northerns, would acquire contempt for the emaciated swordsmen of Ireland, and confidence in their own stuff-gut valour. Besides the many other advantages, conferred on the barbarous natives, by these humane and christian methods of reclaiming them to English civilization, and to Bess's late reformed religion, it offered a great field to the fine arts. Situated on Tarah, or any other eminence commanding an extensive prospect, the painter would have a sublime and terrific scene for the exercise of his art. He could draw a bird's-eye landscape of vast and fertile plains, involved in fire and smoke. The labours of the harvest, villages, and hamlets, reddening the atmosphere with promiscuous blaze, capped by curling volumes of smoke. On approaching nearer the awful scene, he might distinctly hear the frightful shrieks and cries of the wretches perishing in the fire. He might hear the volleys

of musquetry mowing those who attempted to escape, sure of their aim, as the blaze clearly exhibited the object, while the terrified fugitives were blinded, by the smoke and glare of fire, from perceiving their civilizers, ready to receive them with a merciful discharge of bullets, or the point of the bayonet. Nor is painting the only branch of the fine arts, that could be employed to advantage, on this grand exhibition of English clemency and refinement. Music, too, a sister art, might derive considerable improvement, from noting the various modifications of the Irish cry, uttered by sufferers of every sex and age, from hoary decrepitude to suckling infancy. Here a husband grasping his wife; there a mother, with her babe in her arms, in a state of demi-combustion, rushing from the conflagration, on receiving the final volley, sink, closing desolating shrieks, of pain, anguish and dismay, with a last groan of horror. Nero is said to have enjoyed his conflagration of Rome, and to have tuned his pipe and song to the grand spectacle. Bess could only have enjoyed, in imagination, the more extensive conflagration of Ireland; but her loyal soldiers and subjects, executioners of the sentence, might have feasted their eyes, with every species of human woe; their ears, with heart-rending cries of perishing humanity, every diversity of destruction, ruin, and desolation, exhibited in the frightful panorama of exterminating cruelty, Certain it is, that those English writers, who mention these horrific scenes, do so, without manifesting any symptom of displeasure; nay, with

apparent marks of satisfaction and approbation. Another benefit, derived to the cause of England, and good queen Bess, from their plan of civilization. Her armies were recruited from the ranks of her enemies; her battles fought by them, with little loss of English precious blood; for general starvation proved an excellent recruiting sergeant. "With more of policy than humanity, he took care that those Irish soldiers should be exposed both to toil and danger; and even boasted to the queen that he thus diminished the number of her secret enemies. They were however outwardly encouraged; and their leaders rewarded by especial favours, when they had once approved their fidelity. One of the sept of Maguire, was, in opposition to a partizan of Tirone, invested with the lands and chieftainry of Fermanagh: and Nial Garruff obtained a like grant of Tir-connel, with a reservation of eight thousand acres round Ballyshannon. But these methods of dividing the northern rebels were not so acceptable to the English ministers, nor deemed so speedy or effectual, as the schemes for depriving them of all provisions necessary not only for war, but the common subsistence of their lives. The devastations made by the English garrisons already threatened them with the miseries of famine; and to cut them off from all foreign supplies a new and extraordinary measure was devised, which essentially affected every part of the realm."* Famine, to be sure, was an

* Leland, Vol. II. Book IV. c. v. p. 379.

efficacious way of weakening and exterminating a people; but, to complete its effects, the possibility of foreign supply must be prevented. For this purpose, a base coin was forged, for the payment of the queen's forces in Ireland, which would not pass current any where else; the importation of any other species was prohibited, the coin already current decried: consequently, the starving Irish would be disabled from purchasing provisions from abroad. "By her proclamation, an exchange was established in several towns of England and Ireland, where the subjects of either kingdom might commute their coins, allowing a difference of one shilling in the pound, between the Irish and English standard. This scheme, indeed, served to encrease the distresses of the rebels; when no money at all appeared, except of this base sort, denominated at an high valuation, and yet of little use for purchasing provisions in foreign countries, where it would not pass above its real and intrinsic value. But as traders took care, in consequence of this coinage, to raise the prices of all commodities excessively; and as great quantities of spurious coinage were made by rebels and strangers, the exchange soon failed, and (as Moryson expresses it) "the hearts of the queen's soldiers failed therewith; for they served in discomfort, and came home beggars; so that only the treasurers and paymasters, who were thereby infinitely enriched, had cause to bless the authors of this invention."*

* Pacat. Hib.—Moryson.—Leland.

Mountjoy, to prevent a mutiny of the army, on account of the defalcation of their pay, kept them busily employed. He marched to the northern borders, followed up the system of devastation, reserving such provisions as could be raised by the soldiers, or thrown in as a supply to the garrisons, kept Tyrone in constant alarm, by petty and generally successful skirmishes, without undertaking any enterprize of moment until events of greater importance called him to the south, when it became the principal seat of war. It is necessary to recapitulate the succession of events there, as managed by president George Carow.

“The causes of discontent alledged by the insurgents of this province, were nearly the same with those which had excited, or at least inflamed the public disorders in other parts of Ireland; the grievous compositions laid upon the lands, from which they were not relieved at the determination of the stipulated time; the extortions of bribery of sheriffs; the easiness of English jurors in condemning obnoxious persons on the slightest evidence; and the terrifying execution of innocent Irishmen; the extraordinary devices found to impeach their titles to estates; the rigorous execution of the penal laws against recusants; the intrusion (as they deemed it) of the English settlers. But whatever public causes were alledged, the principal leaders had their private views, and private points of interest to engage them in rebellion. Florence Mac-Arthy had purposely been raised up by government, as a

rival to Daniel, a factious and suspected leader, and, in the administration of Essex, sent into Munster with a royal grant of the county of Desmond, his ancient inheritance; but as his insolence and cruelty soon disgusted the neighbouring lords, and determined them, in their lawless way, to support the claims of Daniel, Florence joined readily with Tixone, hoping by his powerful assistance to recover his lands; and was by him established chieftain by the name of Mac-Arthy-More. And had his sept been firmly united, he must have proved a truly formidable leader, as he could command three thousand fighting men of his immediate followers.”* James Fitzthomas, on the death of the late earl, Gerald, aspired to his title and estates; but, as an heir was countenanced and educated by the queen, and finding therefore, no room to hope for favor from her Irish government, he threw himself into the arms of Tyrone, who in the full tide of his success, created him earl of Desmond, by which title and possessions thereunto annexed, he commanded a powerful train of followers, “by O’Neil’s imaginary authority,” says Leland. While O’Neil was successful, his authority was real; defeat made it imaginary. To strengthen the malcontents of Munster still further, two bodies of mercenaries were led out of Connaught, by Redmond de Burgh, and Dermot O’Connor, amounting to five thousand men. Besides the number engaged in open insurrec-

* Pacat. Hib.—Leland.

tion, Carew was informed, that the towns abounded with disaffection. To encounter the queen's enemies and awe the disaffected, Carew was furnished with three thousand foot, and two hundred and fifty horse; a force utterly incapable of making the slightest resistance to the enemy, if firmly united in one body. But their numbers, however formidable in appearance, were really made up of various bodies, commanded by separate and independent leaders, each seeking his own particular emolument, jealous of each other, restrained by no superior authority, and but weakly influenced by any common principle, national or religious. Carew seated himself in Cork, studied the characters and different interests of his enemies, and was soon convinced that the most effectual means of subduing was to disunite them, and to fill them with mutual jealousies and suspicions of their associates. But he had firm allies in the earls of Thomond, Ormond, and Clanrickard, and expected daily reinforcements from England. He procured the submission of the chieftains adjoining Cork, by threats of devastation and military execution. Florence Mac Carthy, humbled by a recent defeat, consented to a neutrality. The chief leaders he had now to deal with were Desmond and O'Connor. Any parley with the former was hopeless; as being determined to hold an estate and title, which the queen was equally entitled not to grant him. His overtures to O'Connor were better received. This soldier of fortune, married to a daughter of the late Des-

mond, was prevailed on by her to deliver up the titular earl into the hands of the president.

Such methods of making war, however necessary, were not of the most honourable kind : but Carew still descended to more dishonourable practices. One Nugent, a servant of Sir Thomas Norris, had deserted to the rebels, and by the alacrity of his services acquired their confidence. In a repenting mood he submitted to the president, and to purchase his pardon, promised to destroy either the titular earl or his brother John. As a plot was already laid against the former, and as his death could only serve to raise up new competitors for his title, the bravo was directed to proceed against John. He seized his opportunity, and attempted to dispatch him ; but as his pistol was just levelled, he was seized, condemned to die, and at his execution confessed his design ; declaring that many others had sworn to the lord president to effect what he intended. This declaration so affected the brothers, that they lived in continual fear of treachery, never daring to lodge together in one place, or to appear at the head of their troops. To encrease their confusion, Redmond De Burgh, who claimed the lands and lordship of Leitrim, and was purposely encouraged to hope that the president would favour his claim, withdrew from his service, with five hundred mercenaries.

The plot of O'Connor for seizing the sугan earl, remained still to be executed ; and to promote its success, all the motions of the lord president were directed. At a season when his

officers expected some vigorous action, he suddenly dispersed his forces into different garrisons, in order to inspire the rebels with confidence, and to induce their leaders to make the like disposition of their troops. A letter was devised, as if addressed by Carew to James Fitz-Thomas, expressing many acknowledgments for his secret services to the state, and exhorting him to deliver up Dermot O'Connor alive or dead. Dermot, furnished with this letter, which it was to be supposed he had intercepted, seeks an interview with James, seizes him in the name of O'Neil as a traitor, produces his letter as a proof of this his guilt, and conveys him with some of his companions to a neighbouring castle, of which he held the command, informing the lord president of his success, and eagerly expecting his reward. But before Carew could arrive to receive his prisoner, John Fitz-Thomas and Pierce Lacy, who suspected the real purpose of O'Connor, collected four thousand of their followers, and rescued the titular earl.

Carew, though disappointed in this attempt, yet was now the more emboldened to proceed in his military operations against an enemy divided by mutual suspicions. He took the chief castle of the Knight of the Valley, in despite of a vigorous defence, and proceeded to other exploits of the same kind, even while the enemy was in view. Two thousand five hundred of the Connaught mercenaries, alarmed at his progress, and despairing of the cause in which they had engaged, sued for his permission to return un-

molested into their own country; which was granted, not without some stately delay. He pierced into Kerry, where he took the castle of the lord of Lixnaw, who died of grief at this mortification, leaving a son no less determined in his inveteracy against the English, yet for the present obliged to submit, and sue for the protection of government. His excursions were attended with the most dismal havoc, through all the disaffected country. Numbers of the most desperate rebels relented at the prospect of desolation and famine, and these champions of the faith sued to Rome to be absolved from the sin of submitting to an heretical government, and to be permitted to continue in a temporal obedience to the state. To complete the confusion of the rebels, the garrison of Kilmallock, in a successful attack upon the titular earl, struck such confusion into his troops, that they dispersed, and so dispirited his adherents, that his brother John fled for shelter to Tirone, and Pierce Lacey determined to court better fortune in the war of Ulster.*

Before the titular earl had been reduced to this distress, the queen and council thought it expedient to set him up a rival, James, son of the late earl, educated in London, in the new religion. With this purpose he was sent to Munster, together with a patent for his restoration to his blood, honours, and fortune, addressed to the lord deputy, with orders to give or with-

* *Pat. Hib.*—Leland.

hold them, as the young lord might prove an useful instrument or otherwise. Having found that young James, by openly professing the new religion, lost all his popularity and influence in Munster, the puppet is set aside and heard of no more. In fact, the expedient was no longer necessary. The Munster insurgents were reduced to the lowest state of distress and weakness. Their hopes of supply from Ulster and Connaught, were slender. Tyrone was too closely hemmed in, by the dispositions of the lord deputy, to afford assistance. Two thousand five hundred of the Connaught mercenaries, despairing of the cause, had returned home. Raymond de Burgh, again amused by the president, with the hope of gaining his lordship of Leitrim, deserted them. Dermot O'Connor had been made prisoner by his own party, and put to death as a traitor. Mac Carthy More had lately renewed his submissions, and assurances of loyalty. Even the Sagan earl chose the life of a wandering kern, rather than commit himself to confederates, either of whom might betray him to make his own peace. The wretched remains of the rebels fled for shelter and sustenance to Ormond; but here they were hunted from their retreats. In the south there was no longer any appearance of war. Pardon was offered to all, except John and James Fitzthomas, the knight of the Valley, and the baron of Lixnaw. Four thousand persons readily accepted it. Having tranquilized Munster, he now proposed to detach one thousand men to assist the

deputy in the North. O'Nial might now learn, with grief, to what little purpose he had sacrificed the season of action, endeavouring to organize the south.

Carew omitted nothing to confound the hopes of the insurgents in Munster. Notwithstanding Mac Carthy More's submission and assurances of loyalty, he seized on him, and some leading men of his clan, whether by invitation, surprise, or some other English method, I have not been informed. Scarce a man of note he did not practice with to get possession of the earl of Desmond, now a wretched fugitive, concealing himself from one haunt to another. Some of lord Barry's soldiers, in pursuit of robbers, casually fell on one of his retreats, while he was waiting for some refreshment. At their appearance he started from the miserable meal prepared for him, and, assisted by a few followers, effected his escape; but the mantle he left behind in the scuffle discovered the owner. Lord Barry, informed of his flight and direction, reported to the president that he was lurking upon the estate of the knight of the Valley, and the latter was obliged by menaces to find and deliver him up. He was tried and convicted by martial law, that his estate might devolve to the queen without an act of parliament. But lest John, or some other leader of the sept, should assume the title, his death was postponed, and he was sent, along with the other illustrious captives, prisoner to London, to be immured in the tower.

At length the long expected Spanish succour

came, on the 23d September, 1601, but too late, too few for that period, and landed at as ill-judged a spot as could possibly be pointed out to them by the enemy. For, in the first place, the harbour of Kinsale, defended neither by sufficient forts or batteries, must necessarily fall into the hands of the English, and become a convenient depot for the supplying the besiegers with provisions, arms, ammunition, and reinforcements of troops, from the seaports of England and Ireland. Thus the best chance the Irish had of ruining the besiegers, by cutting off their supplies, was in a great measure defeated, by the unfortunate position of their allies, so contiguous to the haven, neither strong by nature or art. " Had the invasion been made at that critical period, when the insurgents of the North were in the full tide of success, and given strength and countenance to the disaffected in every quarter of the kingdom, the English power, already shaken, even to its foundation, could scarcely have sustained it for a moment. But now the Northerners lay cooped within their own immediate demesnes, dispirited by ill-success, and wasted by famine. The insurgents of Leinster were broken and subdued. Those of Connaught reduced to such weakness, by pouring their forces, upon fruitless expeditions, into the northern and southern provinces, that the bare appearance of an enemy was sufficient to drive the wretched remains into their inaccessible haunts. In Munster, the rebellion had been broken, and its chief leaders held in captivity; many partizans

had fallen by the sword in different quarters; nor was it an inconsiderable loss to the insurgents, that Pierce Lacy had been lately slain upon the borders of Ulster."

Mountjoy immediately took the field, sent pressing demands for provisions, men, and ammunition to England, and stated the course he intended to pursue with the Irish as follows: " Besides the foreign enemy, the Spaniard, with whom we are first to deal, and the known traitors and rebels already in arms, there are two other sorts of people here, which if we do not carefully provide for, they will soon adhere unto the rest, and make their party so strong, as in judgement we cannot see how we shall be able to encounter it, unless by good providence it be prevented, which is the mark we aim at. The one of these two sorts is the subject, who hath lands and goods to take to, for whom we must provide defence, else with his livelihood we are sure to lose him, and therefore we will omit nothing that our means will stretch to, that may preserve, cherish, and content him. The other sort are such as have no living, nor any thing that will afford them maintenance, and yet hitherto have not shewed themselves disloyal, though all of them be swordsmen, and many gentlemen by descent, and are able to draw after them many followers. To this sort we hear for certain the Spaniards make offer of great entertainment; and if we should not in some manner do the like, we cannot in reason look but they must and will fall to their party. We have therefore out of this necessity resolved,

to take as many of them into her majesty's entertainment, as we have any hope will truly stick unto us, being confident that we shall make good use of them against the Spaniards; for we mean thoroughly to put them to it, though if we should fail in our expectation, and find them cold or slack in serving with us, yet will it be a great countenance to the service to shew the persons of so many men on our side, where otherwise they would have been against it: and of this we can assure your lordships, that when they have served our turn against the Spaniards, until we have freed ourselves of them, we can without danger ease her majesty of that charge, and will no longer hold them in entertainment. In the mean time they shall spend little of the queen's victual, but being paid of the new coin, provide for themselves, which may be with less oppression of the country, than if in that sort they were not entertained, for then they would spoil all, and put out such as otherwise will continue in subjection."*

On the 21st of October, Mountjoy invested Kinsale. Rincorran, a castle commanding the harbour, surrendered on the 1st of November. On the 13th he states his reasons for undertaking the siege, and its difficulties, thus: "It was not my opinion only, but my lord president's, that if I did not suddenly make head to this force, most of this province would have revolted; and if we had suffered the force of Spain

* Letter of Mountjoy and council to the lords in England, dated 3d October, 1601.

to have been masters of the field but six days, as easily they might have been, if we had not fought well to prevent it, I assure myself that all the towns of this province would have revolted, and the current of that fortune would have run so violently through all Ireland, that it would be too late to have stopped it. For the second, the difficulties of a winter siege in this country (where, by reason of the great numbers of the besieged, we are forced to keep strong and continual guards) will soon waste a greater army than ours, if God do not mightily bless us; for the weather is so extream that many times we bring our centinels dead from the stations, and I protest even our chief commanders (whose diligence I cannot but mightily commend) do many of them look like spirits with toil and watching, unto the which we are with good reason moved, since there be many examples that where an enemy can sally out with two or three thousand men they have defeated armies that have been treble our number. But now besides these ordinary difficulties, which in all winter sieges do waste or make unprofitable the greatest part of an army, when we are to make our nearest approaches to force them, we cannot do it without great loss; for although the town be weak against the canon, yet can we plant the canon no where, but they have places that do absolutely command it, so that the town is weak to defend itself, yet exceeding strong to offend, which is the best part that art can add to any fortification, and this is so well provided by nature, that from

one hill they beat into any ground that we can lodge in near them.”*

“The 13th day of November, 1601, our fleet recovered the mouth of Kinsale harbour, but could not get in, the wind being strong against them. The 14th day the fleet with much difficulty warped in, and recovered the harbour, whence the admiral and vice admiral came to the lord deputy at the camp....The 17th day the weather continued stormy, so as neither that day nor the next we could land our ordnance or do any thing of moment....Hitherto nothing could possibly be attempted against the town more than had been done; for, considering that the country stood upon such fickle terms, and so generally ill affected to our side, that almost the least blow, which in the doubtful event of war might have lighted upon us, would have driven them headlong into a general revolt; and further that our army consisted for a third part (at the least) of Irish.”† The siege continued without intermission till the 23d, when “the lord president advertised, that O’Donnel, by advantage of a frost (so great as seldom had been seen in Ireland) had passed a mountain, and so had stolen by him into Munster, whereupon he purposed to return with the forces he had, to strengthen the camp....The first of December it was resolved in a council of war, that some foot should be drawn out of the camp, to give the Spa-

* Letter to the English secretary from Mountjoy, dated 13th November, 1601.

† Moryson’s Hist. of Ireland.

niard a bravado, and to view if the breach we had made were assaultable, and also to cause the Spaniards to shew themselves, that our artillery might the better play upon them. To this purpose 2000 foot, commanded by Sir John Barkley the serjeant major, and captain Edward Blaney, were presently put in arms, and drawn near the walls of the town, who entertained a very hot skirmish with the Spaniards, who were lodged in a trench close to the breach without the town. During this skirmish our artillery played upon those that showed themselves, either in the breach or in the trench, and killed many of them, besides such as were killed and hurt by our small shot.

“ Among the rest one captain Moryson, a Spaniard, walked across the beach, animating his men, and though sir Richard Wingfield, our Marshal, caused both great and small shot to be fired at him, with a promise of twenty pound to him that should hit him or beat him off, yet all the skirmish he continued walking in this brave manner without receiving any hurt.... The 2d of December the lord deputy was advertised by one Donogh O’Driscoll, that six Spanish ships were put into Castle-haven, and that six more were sent with them from the Groyne, but in the way were scattered from these by tempest, and that since it was not known what became of them. The 3d of December, by reason of rainy weather, nothing could be done.

The 6th of December we were advertised that O’Donnel was joined by those Spaniards which

landed lately at Castle-haven, and that he assisted by all the rebel force in Ireland, were drawing up towards Kinsale to relieve it, and were come within a few miles of the camp. Of all these news the Spaniards in Kinsale had knowledge, and thereupon took heart again, when they were otherwise ready to yield upon reasonable composition. For this respect it was thought enough for us to keep the ground we held against all these enemies till we should be further supplied out of England, since upon the least defeat or disaster befalling us, the whole kingdom would have been hazarded, if not lost, by reason of the people's inclination to a general revolt.

“The 7th the lord deputy advertised the secretary in England of all these particulars, adding, that we daily heard very hot alarms of Tyrone's purpose to relieve the town, who, strengthened with the above named forces, was now lodged in woods and inaccessible strengths very near our camp, so as he hindered us from forage for our horse, and from the helps we formerly had out of the country for sustentation of our army; and that his neighbourhood on the one side, and the Spaniards in Kinsale on the other, kept us at a bay from proceeding in our approaches and battery. Besides that our last supplies were in time incredibly wasted, the new men dying by dozens each night thro' the hardness of the winter siege, whereunto they were not inured.”*

* Moryson's History of Ireland.

Thus situated, the deputy and council wrote to the lords in England, stating, " The Spaniard, finding how hardly he was laid to, importuned Tyrone and O'Donnel, with their forces, to come and relieve him, they both are accordingly come and encamped not far from the town. And now a thousand more Spaniards are arrived at Castle-haven, with great store of munition and artillery, and report that a greater force is coming after, which doth so bewitch this people, as we make account all the country will now go out, as most of them have done already, as in our former letters we signified that we feared. O'Donnel's forces are said to be four thousand, and to be joined with the Spaniards that landed at Castle-haven, and Tyrone's (as we hear generally) to be as many more, and since his passage through the country hither, Tyrrel, with many other Leinster rebels (as it is said) are joined with him, and coming also hither. By these means we are induced to leave our battery for a time, and to strengthen our camps, that we may be able to endure all their fury, as we hope we shall, and keep the town still besieged, and so invested as we are not out of hope in the end to carry notwithstanding all that they can do. Yet since it is now most apparent that the king of Spain means to make this place the seat of the war, not only for the gaining of this kingdom. but from time to time to push for England, if he should get this, (for so some that we have taken and examined do confess) and that the whole strength of the Irish are drawn and draw-

ing hither to set up their rest, to get that liberty (as they call it) that they have so long fought for. We must earnestly entreat your lordships to supply us and that speedily, of all things necessary for so great a war as this is like to be. We hold it a matter of necessity that four thousand foot more be sent us presently without staying one for another to come together, but as they can be levied and shipped away.....A great part of our companies being extreme sick through the exceeding misery of this winter's siege, (so as at this present there is but one third part of the last men that come over serviceable and able to do duties, whereof happily a great part may recover,) it cannot therefore be determined, until they be here, what number will be necessary for supplies, and what companies fit to be raised, for that must grow out of a view here of such as continue sick, or are grown deficient by death, or running away, whereof of late there are very many, notwithstanding the severe courses we have taken, by executing some for a terror to the rest, by making proclamations upon pain of death that none should depart the camp without licence, by giving direction to the port towns that they should be stayed and apprehended, and lastly, by sending special men to Cork, Youghal, Waterford, and Wexford to see the same duly put in execution, for which purpose they have commission for martial law, all which is well known to every private man in the camp, and yet they steal away daily in such numbers, as besides those that by devices

do get passages, there are at this present taken between this and Waterford, at the least two hundred ready to be returned: though we confess the misery they indure is such as justly deserveth some compassion, for divers times some are found dead standing sentinel, or being upon their guard, that when they went hither were very well and lusty, so grievous is a winter's siege in such a country: for the sick and hurt men we have taken the best course we can devise.... And yet all this doth not serve but that a great many are still unserviceable, which we have here noted at the greater length, that it might appear unto your lordships that it proceeds not from want of care or providence in us, but from keeping the field in such a season, where human wit cannot prevent their decay.... Neither will this country now afford us any thing, no not so much as meat for our horses, and therefore we must likewise be humble suitors that two thousand quarters of oats may speedily be sent us without which undoubtedly our horses will be starved.... On the other side, the whole force of Tyrone and O'Donnel, with all the strength of the rebels of Ireland, to lie within six miles of us, and to their assistance they have the Spanish supplies, and (that which is worst) their munition and provisions; the whole province either is joined with them, or stand neutrals; and what use soever the enemy maketh of them, I am sure we receive by them no manner of assistance. Notwithstanding all this, I hope we shall give a good account of the besieged; but we have reason to

proceed with great caution, having a desperate enemy before us, and so many that are engaged in the same fortune behind us. For Tyrone and O'Donnel have quit their own countries, to recover them here, or else to lose all. Now, Sir, to enable us in this great war, you must continually supply us with munition and victuals. It is true, how incredible soever you think it, that of 2000 men you send us, you must account that we make use of little more than 500, and yet we can well justify, that there is nothing omitted that human wit can provide, for the preservation of such as we have.”*

“ The 14th day was so rainy, and so tempestuous in winds, as we could not stir out, to proceed any thing in our business.....The 17th day was very tempestuous with rain, and especially wind, and so continued all night, for which cause our artillery played but seldom on the town...This day (the 18th) his lordship intercepted this following letter, which he commanded me to translate out of Spanish into English.

“ To the Prince ô Neal, and Lord ô Donnel. I thought your excellencies would have come at Don Ricardo his going, since he had order from you to say, that upon the Spaniards coming to you (from Castle-haven) you would do me that favour. And so I beseech you now you will do it, and come as speedily and well appointed as may be. For I assure you the enemies are tired, and are very few, and they cannot guard the

* Mountjoy's dispatches to the Privy Council, dated 13th December, 1601.

third part of their trenches, which shall not avail them, for resisting their first fury, all is ended. The manner of your coming your excellencies know better to take there, than I to give it here; for I will give them well to do this way, being always watching to give the blow all that I can, and with some resolution, that your excellencies fighting as they do always, I hope in God the victory shall be ours without doubt, because the cause is his. And I more desire the victory for the interest of your excellencies, than my own. And so there is nothing to be done, but to bring your squadrons, come well appointed and close withal, that being mingled with the enemies, their forts will do as much harm to them, as to us. I commend myself to Don Ricardo. The Lord keep your excellencies. From Kinsale the 28th (the new stile, being the 18th after the old stile) of December, 1601.

“Though you be not well fitted, I beseech your excellencies to dislodge, and come toward the enemy, for expedition imports. It is needful that we all be on horseback at once, and the greater haste the better. Signed by Don Jean del Aguila.

“The 19th day was so extream rainy, as we could do little or nothing. The 20th in the morning being very fair, our ordnance played and brake down good part of the wall of the town. And to the end we might sharpen Tyrone, (whose lying so near did more annoy us, by keeping relief from us, than he was like to hurt

us by any attempt).....The night was stormy, with great lightning and terrible thunder, to the wonder of all, considering the season of the year, and this night came certain intelligence, that Tyrone, drawn on by Don Jean's importunity, determined presently to set up his rest for the relief of the town, and that the next night he would lodge within a mile and half of our camp.

"The 21st, the night being light with continual flashings of lightning, the Spaniards sallied again, and gave upon a trench, newly made beneath our canon, but were the sooner repelled, because we kept very strong guards, and every man was ready to be in arms, by reason of Tyrone's being so near unto us. The 22d Tyrone's horse and foot often shewed themselves from an hill, beyond which they incamped in a wood, yet our artillery still played upon the town, breaking down the wall, and some turrets, from whence the Spaniards shot annoyed our men. Many intelligences confirmed, that Tyrone on the one side, and the Spaniards on the other, had a purpose to force our camp..... Our artillery still played upon the town, that they might see we went on with our business, as if we cared not for Tyrone's coming, but it was withal carried on in such a fashion, as we had no meaning to make a breach, because we thought it not fit to offer to enter, and so put all to hazard, until we might better discover what Tyrone meant to do, whose strength was assured to be very great, and we found by letters of Don Jean's, which we had intercepted, that he had advised

Tyrone to set upon our camps, telling him that it could not be chosen, but our men were much decayed by the winter's siege, and so, that we should hardly be able to maintain so much ground as we had taken when our strength was greater, if we were put to, on the one side by them, and on the other side by him, which he would not fail on his side to do resolutely. And it was most true, that our men died daily by dozens, so as the sick and run-aways considered, we were grown as weak as at our first setting down, before our supplies of 4000 foot.

“ This evening one of the chief commanders in Tyrone's army, having some obligations to the lord president, sent a message to him for a bottle of usquebagh, and by a letter wished him, that the English army should that night be well upon their guard, for Tyrone meant to give upon one camp, and the Spaniards upon the other, meaning to spare no man's life but the lord deputy's and his. Don Jean del Aguila after confessed to the lord president, that notwithstanding our sentinels, he and Tyrone the night following, had three messengers the one from the other. All the night was clear with lightning (as in the former nights were great lightnings with thunder) to the great astonishment of many, in respect to the season of the year.... Tyrone's guides missed their way, so as he came not up to our camp by night, as the Spaniards ready in arms hourly expected, but early about the break of the next day.... And Sir Richard Greame, having the scout that night when he discovered that Tyrone with his

forces was on foot marching towards the camp, presently advertised the lord deputy thereof.... It was now the break of day, whereas midnight was the time appointed for the rebels to meet with Don Jean's forces, the Spaniard being to set upon our lesser camp (or the earl of Thomond's quarter,) and Tyrrel leading the rebels van-guard (in which were the Spaniards lately landed at Castle-haven,) and Tyrone leading their battail, and ô Donnel their rear, being all to set upon our chief camp, conceiving themselves of sufficient strength to force both our camps at one instant, and to make no great work of it.....But the Spaniards still expecting the coming up of the rebels, according to their mutual project, and never imagining that we with our small forces could draw out sufficient bands to meet and beat the rebels, contained themselves within their town walls, till (as by the sequel shall appear) their sallies could little profit them."*

On the approach of the English army, commanded by marshal Sir Richard Wingfield, the Irish retired. The marshal, seeing them disordered in their retreat, sent to Mountjoy for leave to attack. Left to his own discretion, the "earl of Clanrickard came up, and exceedingly importuned the marshal to fight; whereupon the marshal drew a squadron of foot with their drum to the ford, and willed Sir Richard Greames with his horse to march directly to the ford; then the

* Moryson's Hist. of Ireland.

enemy retired hastily with horse and foot over a boggy ground to firm land, hoping to keep that boggy passage against us; then the marshal directed Sir Henry Davers (commanding the horse under him) with his horse and Sir Henry Power with his regiment of foot to advance, who presently came over the foresaid ford unto him. The lord deputy being upon the hill with 2 regiments of foot, commanded the serjeant-major there attending him to second our men with those foot; so the marshal, having the earl of Clanrickard and Sir Henry Davers with him, advanced with some 100 horse, and began with 100 harquibusiers to give occasion of skirmish on the bog-side, which the rebels with some loose shot entertained, their 3 battalions standing firm on the one side of the bog, and our foot on the other side: in this skirmish our foot were put up hard to our horse, which the marshal perceiving, put forth more shot, which made the rebels retire towards their battail: then the marshal finding a way through a ford to the ground where the rebels stood he possessed the same with some foot, and presently he passed over with the earl of Clanrickard, sir Richard Greames, captain Taaffe, and captain Fleming and their horse, and offered to charge one of the rebels battails of 1800 men; but finding them stand firm, our horse wheeled about. But the whole of the English horse coming up, charged home upon the rear of the battle, and the Irish not used to fight in plain ground, and something amazed with the blowing up of a gunpowder

bag (they having upon the like fright defeated the English of old at Blackwater,) but most discouraged to see their horse fly (being all chiefs of septs and gentlemen, to the number of 5 or 600,) were suddenly routed, and our men followed the execution: the other two battails that stood still, now finding this routed, made haste to succour them; whereupon the lord deputy sent instantly captain Francis Roe with sir Oliver St. John's regiment (of which he was lieutenant-colonel) to charge on the flank of the vanguard, which presently retired disorderly, being followed by our foot and horse; but the Spaniards, landed at Castle-haven, marching there, and being not so good of foot as the Irish, drew out by themselves, yet were by Sir William Godolphin, leading the lord deputy's troop, soon broken, and most of them killed, the rest (with their chief commander, Don Alonzo del Campo) being taken prisoners, namely, 2 captains, 7 alferoes, and 40 soldiers, whereof some were of good quality. In the mean time many of the light footed Irish of the van escaped, as did likewise almost all the rear, by advantage of this execution done upon the Spaniards and the main battle, (of which body far greater than either of the other, all were killed) but only some 60 or thereabouts.

Thus the Irish horse first leaving the foot, then two of the battalions being routed, they all fell to fly for life, our men doing execution upon many in the place. On our part Sir Richard Greames, cornet, was killed, Sir Henry Davera,

Sir William Godolphin, Capt. Henry Crofts, scout-master, were slightly hurt, only six soldiers hurt, but many of our horses killed, and more hurt. The Irish rebels left 1200 bodies dead in the field, besides those that were killed in two miles chase; we took 9 of their ensigns, all their drums and powder, and got more than 2000 arms: and had not our men been greedy of the Spaniards spoil, being very rich; had not our foot been tired with continual watchings long before in this hard winter's siege; had not our horse especially been spent by ill keeping and want of all meat for many days before, (by reason of Tyrone's nearness, so as the day before this battle it had been resolved in council to send the horse from the camp for want of means to feed them, and if Tyrone had lain still and not suffered himself to be drawn to the plain ground by the Spaniards importunity, all our horse must needs have been sent away or starved;) had not these impediments been we had then cut the throats of all the rebels there assembled, for they never made head against them that followed the execution, nor scarce ever looked behind them, but every man shifted for himself, casting off his arms, and running for life, insomuch as Tyrone after confessed himself to be overthrown by a sixth part of his number, which he ascribed (as we must, and do) to God's great work, beyond man's capacity.....The earl of Clanrickard with his own hand killed above 20 Irish kerne, and cried out to spare no rebel. The captive Spanish commander, Alonzo del Campo, avowed

that the rebels were 6000 foot and 500 horse; whereas the lord deputy had but some 1200 foot, and less than 400 horse..... The same day an old written book was shewed to the lord deputy, wherein was a prophesy naming the ford and hill where this battle was given, and foretelling a great overthrow to befall the Irish in that place."* After noticing his success, Mountjoy states,† " We have forced two places already held by the Spaniard, and now he remains possessed and fortified in four several places more, with great store of munition, artillery and victuals. There is supply of horse and foot certainly coming unto them, some say in great numbers. We have indured (I dare boldly say) the most miserable siege for extremity of weather and labour, that in this age hath been heard of."

" The 28th day of December, the lord deputy was advertised that Syrriago, a principal commander of the Spaniards, landed in the west parts, having received news of Tyrone's overthrow, was suddenly gone for Spain, without acquainting any of the Spaniards therewith, and that he had carried with him in the same ship Hugh ô Donnel. And thus was the old prophesy fully accomplished, which often before we had heard, namely, that Munster should be the destruction of the three great northern Hughs. For Hugh Mac Guyer, lord of Fermanagh, and the first Robin Hood of this great rebellion, was

* Moryson's Hist. of Ireland.

† Dispatch to the English Secretary, dated Dec. 27, 1601.

long since killed near the city of Cork, and Hugh Tyrone and Hugh δ Donnel were overthrown at Kinsale, whereof Hugh δ Donnel is now fled for Spain, whence he never returned; and Hugh Tyrone drew faintly his last breath in the north, without hope of better living, than as a woodkerne here, or as a fugitive abroad. Likewise Hugh Mostian, a famous rebel, at this time fled with δ Donnel into Spain.”*

The defeat of the Irish so affected the Spaniard, that, to indulge his resentment, he sacrificed the interests of his master, surrendered Kinsale, and all other places occupied by the Spaniards in Munster, on condition of the Spanish army, arms and ammunition being sent to Spain. Terms easily obtained, “ especially since many strong reasons made the agreement, as it was honourable, so to seem very profitable to the state of England; namely, that our army was wasted and tired with the winter’s siege. That it was dangerous to attempt a breach defended with so many able men. That if we should lodge in the breach, yet they having many strong castles in the town, so much time might be spent ere we could carry it, as our fleet for want of victuals might be forced to leave us. That at this time our army was only provided for six days. That we had not munition or artillery to make any more than one battery in one place at once, five of our pieces being crazed. That upon any disaster befalling us, the Irish were like to revolt. That besides the taking of Kinsale, the other places held by the Spaniards, as Baltimore, Cas-

tle-haven, and Beer-haven, would have made a long and dangerous war, with infinite charge to the state of England, they being strongly fortified, and well stored with all provisions of war, and our army being so tired as it could not attempt them, without being first refreshed, and then being supplied with all necessaries, to the insupportable charge of our state, must have been carried by sea to those places inaccessible by land. Lastly, that in this time the king of Spain could not but send them powerful seconds, being thus far engaged in his honour. Besides that by this long war we should be hindered from prosecution of the rebels, who were now so broken, as in short time they must needs be brought to absolute subjection.”*

From the detail of this memorable siege, left us by the enemy of the ancient Irish, it is apparent, that Ireland was lost by the mismanagement of their Spanish allies. Their first and greatest fault, consisted in their dilatoriness in sending the promised succours. Their second error was, their choice of position. The third fatal one was, their importuning the Irish to a premature attack on the English camp. From Moryson's journal of the siege, the elements evidently fought against the English. Famine, fatigue, and rain, during a winter's siege, thinned their ranks more than the sword of the enemy. Effectually besieged in their camp by the northern Irish, and deprived of forage and provisions by land, which they industriously wasted

* Moryson's Hist. of Ireland.

themselves, supplies by sea were rendered difficult and tedious by tempests of thunder and lightning, unusual in the month of December. Men and horses were perishing by hardship; their very officers looked like spectres. By the confession of the English afterwards, they would soon have lost all their cavalry; nor could they hold out any time without great reinforcements and stores from England. Spain was, meanwhile, preparing to pour in more forces and supplies of all kinds, that would enable the Irish to block up their enemies by sea and land, and starve them to a surrender. D'Aquila acted the very part his enemies most earnestly wished; and by his impatient importunity betrayed the interest of his master and allies, ruining the cause he came to defend. Could he but emulate the patience with which the English bore all manner of hardship, in the service of their mistress, a fair prospect of success opened to him. No assault could be attempted on the town, while the Ultonian forces lay so contiguous; the assailants were enfeebled by extremity of weather, fatigue, and scarcity, evils every day encreasing on them. What insanity, to offer an enemy, thus perishing by intolerable hardships, a chance of extricating himself, by one vigorous attack of courage, excited by despair, and strengthened by discipline, on the mobbish unmanageable body of the confederate Irish! Unfortunate Irish! Their commander, fully sensible of the advantages of his situation, wished to leave the decision of his cause to the operation of natural causes; cold,

wet, scarcity, incessant toil, and want of rest. As Pompey was dragged from Dyrrachium, where he had a fair prospect of victory, being master of the seas, in an impenetrable camp, by the great men of his party, impatient of camp discipline, and longing for the luxuries of Rome, to meet defeat and ruin at Pharsalia; O'Neil was teized and worried, by his foreign allies and confederate chiefs, against his better judgment, to yield to the evil fate of his country. The attempt of forcing the camp appears not only injudicious, but likewise to have been blasted by treachery, and rendered abortive by mismanagement. The notice of the projected attack, sent by a commander under O'Neil to lord Mountjoy; though situate within a mile and a half of the English camp, to be led astray all night by guides, furnish proof of this. That no stratagem was hit on, to remedy their inferiority in cavalry, exhibits a dearth of generalship; since companies of pikes interspersed among them would give them a similar advantage as Cæsar procured for his at Pharsalia.

The Irish war, impudently called rebellion, by the enemy, may be considered as terminated by the surrender of the Spaniards at Kinsale. All that follows is but military execution, superfluous cruelty, coolly and cruelly inflicting torments on an unfortunate nation, who are to be exterminated by famine, fire and sword; only a remnant to be spared for bondage, deprived of property and liberty, and persecuted for conscience.

The lord president, hearing that the Munster fugitives were harboured in some parts of that province, diverted his forces thither, burnt all the houses and corn, taking great preys, harassing the country, and killed all mankind that were found therein. In other parts* he did the like, not leaving man or beast, corn or cattle, except such as had been conveyed into castles. These he besieged and took, killing those who took refuge there. The ward of Listoel, eighteen in number, besieged by sir Charles Wilmot, came forth on their knees, and begged for mercy. The women and children he suffered to depart; but of the weaponed men he hanged nine, the residue detained, till he had acquainted the lord president with what he had done, who gave pre-

* Of the numerous instances given by Moryson, in his History of Ireland, of the mode of warfare adopted by Mountjoy, to whom he was private secretary, the following are extracted. In this deputy's progress to Ulster, in Leix, (Queen's county,) "our captains, and by their example (for it was otherwise painful) the common soldiers, did cut down with their swords all the rebels corn, to the value of £10000 and upward, the only means by which they were to live, and to keep their bonnaghts (or hired soldiers). It seemed incredible, that by so barbarous inhabitants, the ground should be so manured, the fields so orderly fenced, the towns so frequently inhabited, and the high-ways and paths so well beaten, as the lord deputy here found them. The reason whereof was, that the queen's forces, during these wars, never till then came among them." B. I. c. 2.—What rancour must be in the breast of this writer, to term barbarous, the inhabitants of a country that he describes so highly cultivated, interspersed with populous towns, connected by good roads. "The 15th of March his lordship drew towards Arbrachin... and in the morning suddenly fell into the Ferney, the pos-

sent orders for the execution of the rest.* The same officer, at another time, entering an Irish camp without any resistance: for there he found nothing but hurt and sick men, whose lives and pains by the soldiers were both determined.† “One would imagine,” says Curry, “from the virulence of the expressions, and the barbarity of the actions mentioned in this history, that it was written by Carew’s enemy.” Yes, if one did not know, that the book was written for his employers, the court of England, and an English public, whose virulent antipathy to the Irish nation, and the religion to which they adhered, would be highly gratified, by the perusal of such barbarous atrocities, committed by their authority and forces on a detested race, whose ruin and

* Pac. Hib. fol. 98.

† Ib. fol. 365.

session whereof Ever mac Cooly, one of the Mac Mahown’s then usurped, and there we burnt the houses and spoiled the goods of the inhabitants.” B. 1. c. 2. “All the garrisons in time of harvest, gathered as much corn as they could, and destroyed the rest.” Ib. “The 16th of April, the governor of Loughfoyle advertised, that the garrison of the Liffey had burnt the new town, and killed twelve kerne and thirty-eight of other people, and had brought back some three hundred cows; and that the garrison of Donnegal had burnt in ó Kane’s country a great village, and many women, children, and cows, with the houses, and had killed some forty kerne and churls.” Ib. “The 29th of July, his lordship and the council with him made to the lords in England a relation of the past services and wrote further as followeth. . We can assure your lordships thus much, that from ó Kane’s country, where now he liveth, which is to the northward of his own country of Tyrone, we have left none to give us opposition, nor of late have seen any but dead carcasses meerly starved for want of meat, of which kind we found many in divers places

desolation would furnish them a dainty recreation. Dr. Curry weakly says, that "the royal clemency and gracious promise of pardon, were frustrated by the cruelty and inhumanity of her officers." Lord Mountjoy, and his secretary Moryson, as well as president Carew, could inform him, that no methods of dividing and weakening the Irish were so acceptable to Elizabeth and her council, as that of destroying all their provisions, and mowing down the nation by famine and fire, as a more effectual instrument of destruction, in addition to the sword. In Moryson we have lord Mountjoy's letters to the queen, the council, and the secretary, giving an account of his progress in the laborious work of destroying the Irish by famine. Likewise their

as we passed." B. III. c. i. In Mountjoy's statement of his deeds in the north-to the lords in England, he says: "We found every where men dead of famine, insomuch that ð Hagan protested unto us, that between Tullogh Oge and Toome there lay unburied a 1000 dead, and that since our first drawing this year to Blackwater there were above 3000 starved in Tyrone." Ib. Sir Henry Dockwra states to the lords in England, that "for four days space together, I divided the forces into three bodies, and traversed first about, and then through the country, spoiling and burning such a quantity of corn, and number of houses, as I should hardly have believed so small a circuit of ground could have afforded, if I had not seen it." Ib. "Now because I have often made mention formerly of our destroying the rebels corn, and using all means to famish them, let me by two or three examples shew the miserable estate to which the rebels were thereby brought. Sir Arthur Richardson, Sir Richard Moryson, and the other commanders of the forces sent against Brian mac Art aforesaid, in their return homeward, saw a most horrible spectacle of three children (whereof the eldest was not above

answers, applauding his conduct; in particular, an affectionate letter from Bess, extolling his wisdom and successful valour, in causing a general famine. Her letter also to Carew, extolling his atrocities and famishing industry in the south. The plan, committed to Essex, was the very same, of which Leland gives the particulars from Essex's letter to the queen. The queen's clemency therefore was not disappointed; for she was punctually obeyed by her officers, monsters fit to execute any devilish purpose. From themselves we have some shocking scenes particularized, of the dreadful famine and mortality they caused. True indeed, some time before the landing of the Spaniards, Bess's policy, not her affected clemency, sent offers of pardon to

ten years old,) all eating and gnawing with their teeth the entrails of their dead mother, upon whose flesh they had fed 20 days past, and having eaten all from the feet upwards to the bare bones, roasting it continually by a slow fire, were now come to the eating of her said entrails in like sort roasted, yet not divided from the body, being as yet raw. Former mention hath been made in the lord deputies letters, of carcases scattered in many places, all dead of famine. And no doubt the famine was so great, as the rebel soldiers taking all the common people had to feed upon, and hardly living thereupon, (so as they besides fed not only on hawks, kites, and unsavory birds of prey, but on horse-flesh, and other things unfit for man's feeding,) the common sort of the rebels were driven to unspeakable extremities (beyond the record of most histories that ever I did read in that kind) the ample relating whereof were an infinite task, yet will I (Moryson, Hist. Ireland, B. III. c. i.) not pass it over without adding some few instances. Capt. Trevor and many honest gentlemen lying in the Newry can witness, that some old women of those parts used to make a fire in the fields, and divers

Munster, to have that province quiet in case of invasion.

The war against O'Neil was prosecuted near two years longer, from the surrender of Kinsale, in December 1601, to the thirtieth of March 1603. Unable to keep the field, O'Neil was forced to burn his town of Dungannon, and seek safety in his fastnesses, while Mountjoy and his officers proceeded in devastating the country, erecting forts, and expelling the inhabitants. Tirone was every day deserted by some followers. Roderic, the brother of Hugh O'Donnel, who, on the flight of the chieftain, succeeded to the command of his sept, sought the protection of government, and was favourably received.

Forsaken by his nearest kinsmen and followers;

little children driving out the cattle in the cold mornings, and coming thither to warm them, were by them surprised, killed and eaten, which at last was discovered by a great girl breaking from them by strength of her body, and Capt. Trevor sending out soldiers to know the truth, they found the childrens skulls and bones, and apprehended the old women, who were executed for the fact." The authors of the famine were the authors of cannibalism, not the unfortunate hags, who were driven by extremity of hunger to that shocking sustenance. It has often happened, that sailors, in similar distress, have cast lots, and fed on their comrades; nor have we ever heard of any surviving that wretched extremity, being hanged therefore. The English garrison of Derry, besieged by Edward Bruce, who eat the eight Scotch prisoners, were inexcusable cannibals; because a surrender would have relieved them. "The captains of Carrickfergus, and the adjacent garrisons of the northern parts can witness, that upon the making of peace, and receiving the rebels to mercy, it was a common practice among the common sort of them (I mean such as were not sword-men,) to thrust long needles

his country a desert; £2000 reward for him if taken alive, £1000 if dead; the gallant O'Neil again endeavoured to obtain the restoration of his property. The opportunity was favourable: Elizabeth, his implacable enemy, dead; an invasion from Spain dreaded; the expences of the war great; the English ministry impatient. A safe conduct was given to O'Neil, who, at an interview with the deputy, in which Mountjoy endeavoured to break his magnanimous spirit, was reinstated in the earldom of Tyrone, new letters patent granted of his lands, with trifling exceptions, and his followers pardoned.

Here properly ends the history of the antient Irish, when every sort of power and liberty was torn from them, by treachery and infuriate cruelty, scarcely equalled in the annals of the

into the horses of our English troops, and they dying thereupon, to be ready to tear out one another's throat for a share of them. And no spectacle was more frequent in the ditches of towns, and especially in wasted countries, than to see multitudes of these poor people dead with their mouths all coloured green by eating nettles, docks, and all things they could rend up above ground." B. III. c. i. The effects of this artificial famine were severely felt even in the very city of Dublin, the most remote from those dreadful scenes of devastation. Leland states, that he had seen an account of the rates of provisions sold in Dublin, in the year 1602, authenticated by the signature of John Tirrel, mayor, by which it appears, that Wheat had arisen from 36s. to £9 the quarter. Barley-malt, from 10s. to 43s. the barrel. Oat-malt, from 5s. to 22s. the barrel. Pease, from 5s. to 40s. the peck. Oats, from 3s. 4d. to 20s. the barrel. Beef, from 26s. 8d. to £8 the carcase. Mutton, from 3s. to 26s. the carcase. Veal, from 10s. to 29s. the carcase. A lamb, from 12d. to 6s. A pork, from 8s. to 30s.

world. Mowed down by fire and sword, still more by the famishing desolation so industriously and perseveringly accomplished by their enemies, they present no longer but the abject oppressed remnant of a great people. How many the English destroyed by famine we can now only guess ; but from the records left by the perpetrators, it is easy to see, that it must have been immense. Three thousand men are said by Moryson to have perished of famine in Tyrone in one year, without reckoning women and children, which would make the total about fifteen thousand ! How many perished during the other three years by these means of extermination, he does not say. From the heaps found dead in the ditches in all the wasted countries, their mouths coloured green, from their miserable endeavours to relieve the excruciating pang of famishing nature, there remain two incontestable proofs, that a vast majority of the wretched natives was destroyed by these infernal means. According to Moryson, wolves multiplied exceedingly towards the conclusion of these tragic scenes, so as to prowl in the suburbs of towns ; an evident sign of a desolate country, whose inhabitants, that would thin their numbers, and repress their daring, were made food for carnivorous beasts and birds, by the piety and charity of Bess's apostles for civilizing the poor Irish and converting them to her holiness's new religion ! From the testimony of these civilizers, in travelling leagues over the wasted countries, there remained no vestige of any living man or beast. To which the expres-

sion of lord Mountjoy, " that if the Spaniards come not this year, they will be late the next, as no foreign succour can revive the dead." Now, if one half, one third, or even one fourth survived, foreign succour might avail them, whence obviously the destruction of the whole was meditated, or nearly so.

It is hard to determine which most to admire, the heroic constancy and patience with which the Irish endured extremities of hardship, allowed by their enemies to exceed any thing in the records of history, or the inhuman ferocity with which the royal tygress and her assassins prosecuted their destruction. Had she lived much longer, 'tis rather doubtful, whether she would cease the work of extermination until the best and greatest part of Ireland was made an absolute desert; for she mortally hated the Irish, first, by national antipathy, but chiefly, because, instead of yielding to her arbitrary tyranny, spiritual and temporal, with the fawning pliancy of her English slaves, they stoutly stood in defence of civil and religious liberty. This desperate excess of cruelty lord Bacon testifies, when he disapproves of it. " That too much letting blood in the decline of a disease was against reason, and the extirpation of antient generation not commendable." But the mighty arm of God, who willed a remnant to be saved, prostrated the monster before her bloody purpose was entirely accomplished. A memorable example in the list of persecuting tyrants, she lay on the floor, afflicted with burning heat and unquenchable

thirst, gnawed with anguish and sorrow, corroded by the stings of a guilty conscience, without the remedy of contrition, the consolation of hope. After lingering ten days and nights, in inconsolable melancholy and frantic despair, a terror to all the beholders, she terminated the career of her crimes, smarting under the "judgment without mercy, because she shewed no mercy."

It may not be displeasing to the reader, nor is it quite foreign to the purpose of giving just traits, characteristic of the hostile sects and parties, to contrast with the frightful end of this persecuting tyrant, the horrors of which were endeavoured to be concealed, the affecting and magnanimous scene, exhibited by Mary queen of Scots in her last moments, while preparing for the scaffold, and at her public execution. The foundress, and propagating zealot of the new sect in England, deriving from her new fangled doctrines and liturgy no hope or consolation, but perishing in the horrors of despair, in her own palace, surrounded by the satellites of her power, and her slavish courtiers, and no less servile bishops, her own creatures, from whose functions and prayers she expected no relief. The other displaying before and at her lawless execution, the piety, resignation and courage of a primitive martyr. May it not be fair to infer, that the undutifulness of James to such a mother, entailed divine vengeance on his posterity, being one great source of the misfortunes that befel the Stuart family.

" Feb. 7. 1587.—The earls of Shrewsbury and Kent, came to Fotheringay-castle; and being introduced to Mary, informed her of their commission, and desired her to prepare for death next morning at eight o'clock. She seemed nowise terrified, though somewhat surprized, with the intelligence. She said, with a cheerful and even a smiling countenance, that she did not think the queen her sister, would have consented to her death, or have executed the sentence against a person, not subject to the laws and jurisdiction of England. " But as such is her will," said she, " death, which puts an end to all my miseries, shall be to me most welcome; nor can I esteem that soul worthy the felicities of heaven, which cannot support the body under the horrors of the last passage to these blissful mansions."* She then requested the two noblemen, that they would permit some of her servants, and particularly her confessor, to attend her: but they told her, that compliance with this last demand was contrary to their conscience, and that Dr. Fletcher, dean of Peterborow, a man of great learning, should be present, to instruct her in the principles of true religion. Her refusal to have any conference with this divine inflamed the earl of Kent's zeal; and he bluntly

* It appears by some letters published by Strype, vol. iii. book ii. c. 1. that Elizabeth had not expressly communicated her intention to any of her ministers, not even to Burleigh: they were such experienced courtiers, that they knew they could not gratify her more than by serving her without waiting till she desired them.

told her, that her death would be the life of their religion; as, on the contrary, her life would have been the death of it. Mention being made of Babington, she constantly denied his conspiracy to have been at all known to her; and the revenge of her wrong, she resigned into the hands of the Almighty.

“ When the earls had left her, she ordered supper to be hastened, that she might have the more leisure, after it, to finish the few affairs which remained to her in this world, and to prepare for her passage to another. It was necessary for her, she said, to take some sustenance, lest a failure of her bodily strength should depress her spirits on the morrow, and lest her behaviour should thereby betray a weakness unworthy of herself. She supped sparingly, as her manner usually was; and her wonted cheerfulness did not even desert her on this occasion. She comforted her servants under the affliction, which overwhelmed them, and which was too violent for them to conceal it from her. Turning to Burgoin, her physician, she asked him, whether he did not remark the great and invincible force of truth. “ They pretend,” said she, “ that I must die, because I conspired against their queen’s life: but the earl of Kent, avowed that there was no other cause of my death, but the apprehensions, which, if I should live, they entertain for their religion. My constancy in the faith is my real crime: the rest is only a colour, invented by interested and designing men.” Towards the end of the supper, she called in all her servants, and drank to them:

they pledged her, in order, on their knees; and craved her pardon for any past neglect of their duty: she deigned, in return, to ask their pardon for her offences towards them: and a plentiful effusion of tears attended this last solemn farewell, and exchange of mutual forgiveness.

“ Mary’s care of her servants was the sole remaining affair, which employed her concern. She perused her will, in which she had provided for them by legacies: she ordered the inventory of her goods, cloaths, and jewels to be brought her; and she wrote down the names of those to whom she bequeathed each particular: to some she distributed money with her own hands; and she adapted the recompence to their different degrees of rank and merit. She wrote also letters of recommendation for her servants to the French king and to her cousin, the duke of Guise, whom she made the chief executor of her testament. At her wonted time she went to bed, slept some hours, and then rising, spent the rest of the night in prayer. Having foreseen the difficulty of exercising the rites of her religion, she had the precaution to obtain a consecrated host from the hands of pope Pius; and she had reserved the use of it for this last period of her life. By this expedient she supplied, as much as she could, the want of a priest and confessor, who was refused her.

“ Towards the morning she dressed herself in a rich habit of silk and velvet, the only one which she had reserved to herself. She told her maids, that she would willingly have left them

this dress rather than the plain garb, which she wore the day before; but it was necessary for her to appear at the ensuing solemnity in a decent habit.

“ Thomas Andrews, sheriff of the county, entered the room, and informed her, that the hour was come, and that he must attend her to the place of execution. She replied, that she was ready; and bidding adieu to her servants, she leaned on two of Sir Amias Paulet’s guards, because of an infirmity in her limbs; and she followed the sheriff with a serene and composed aspect. In passing through a hall adjoining to the chamber, she was met by the earls of Shrewsbury and Kent, Sir Amias Paulet, Sir Drue Drury, and many other gentlemen of distinction. Here she also found Sir Andrew Melvil, her steward, who flung himself on his knees before her, and, wringing his hands, cried out aloud, “ Ah! Madam, unhappy me! What man was ever before the messenger of such unhappy tidings as I must carry, when I shall return to my native country, and shall report, that I saw my gracious queen and mistress beheaded in England?” His tears prevented further speech; and Mary too felt herself moved, more from sympathy than affliction. “ Cease, my good servant,” said she, “ cease to lament: thou hast cause rather to rejoice than to mourn. For now shalt thou see the troubles of Mary Stuart receive their long expected period and completion. Know,” continued she, “ good servant, that all the world at best is vanity, and subject still to more sorrow

than a whole ocean of tears is able to bewail. But, I pray thee, carry this message from me, that I die a true woman to my religion, and unalterable in my affections to Scotland and to France. Heaven forgive them, that have long desired my end, and have thirsted for my blood, as the hart panteth after the water brooks. O God!" added she, "thou that art the author of truth, and truth itself, thou knowest the inmost recesses of my heart: thou knowest, that I was ever desirous to preserve an entire union between Scotland and England, and to obviate the source of all these fatal discords. But recommend me, Melvil, to my son, and tell him, that notwithstanding all my distresses, I have done nothing prejudicial to the state and kingdom of Scotland." After these words, reclining herself, with weeping eyes; and face bedewed with tears, she kissed him. "And so," said she, "good Melvil, farewell: once again, farewell, good Melvil; and grant the assistance of thy prayers to thy queen and mistress."

"She next turned to the noblemen who attended her, and made a petition in behalf of her servants, that they might be well treated, be allowed to enjoy the presents which she had made them, and be sent safely into their own country. Having a favourable answer, she preferred another request, that they might be permitted to attend her at her death: in order, said she, that their eyes may behold, and their hearts bear witness, how patiently their queen and mistress can submit to her execution, and how constantly she

perseveres in her attachment to her religion. The earl of Kent opposed this desire, and told her, that they would be apt, by their speeches and cries, to disturb both herself and the spectators: he was also apprehensive, lest they should practise some superstition, unmeet for him to suffer; such as dipping their handkerchiefs in her blood: for that was the instance which he made use of. "My lord," said the queen of Scots, "I will give my word (although it be but dead) that they shall not incur any blame in any of the actions which you have named. But alas! poor souls! it would be a great consolation to them to bid their mistress farewell. And I hope," added she, "that your mistress being a maiden queen, would vouchsafe, in regard of womanhood, that I should have some of my own people about me at my death. I know, that her majesty hath not given you any such strict command, but that you might grant me a request of far greater courtesy, even though I were a woman of inferior rank to which I bear." Finding that the earl of Kent persisted still in his refusal, her mind, which had fortified itself against the terrors of death, was affected by this circumstance of indignity, for which she was not prepared. "I am cousin to your queen," cried she, "and descended from the blood-royal of Henry VII. and a married queen of France, and an anointed queen of Scotland." The commissioners, perceiving how invidious their obstinacy would appear, conferred a little together, and agreed that she might carry a few of her servants along with her. She made

choice of four men, and two maid-servants, for that purpose.

“ She then passed into another hall, where was erected the scaffold, covered with black; and she saw, with an undismayed countenance, the executioners, and all the preparations of death. The room was crowded with spectators; and no one was so steeled against all sentiments of humanity, as not to be moved, when he reflected on her royal dignity, considered the surprising train of her misfortunes, beheld her mild but inflexible constancy, recalled her amiable accomplishments, or surveyed her beauties, which, though faded by years, and yet more by her afflictions, still discovered themselves in this fatal moment. Here the warrant for her execution was read to her; and during this ceremony she was silent; but shewed, in her behaviour, an indifference and unconcern, as if the business had no wise regarded her. Before the executioners performed their office, the dean of Peterborow stepped forth; and though the queen frequently told him, that he needed not concern himself about her; that she was settled in the ancient catholic and Roman religion; and that she meant to lay down her life in defence of that faith: he still thought it his duty to persist in his lectures and exhortations, and to endeavour her conversion. The terms, which he employed, were, under colour of pious instructions, cruel insults on her unfortunate situation; and, besides their own absurdity, may be regarded as the most mortifying indignities, to which she

had ever yet been exposed. He told her, that the queen of England had, on this occasion, shewn a tender care of her; and notwithstanding the punishment justly to be inflicted on her, for her manifold trespasses, was determined to use every expedient for saving her soul from that destruction, with which it was so nearly threatened: that she was now standing upon the brink of eternity, and had no other means of escaping endless perdition, but by repenting of her former wickedness, by justifying the sentence pronounced against her, by acknowledging the queen's favours, and by exerting a true and lively faith in Christ Jesus: that the scriptures were the only rule of doctrine, the merits of Christ the only means of salvation; and, if she trusted in the inventions or devices of men, she must expect in an instant to fall into utter darkness, into a place where shall be weeping, howling, and gnashing of teeth: that the hand of death was upon her, the ax was laid to the root of the tree, the throne of the great judge of heaven was erected, the book of her life was spread wide, and the particular sentence and judgment was ready to be pronounced upon her: and that it was now, during this important moment, in her choice, either to rise to the resurrection of life, and hear that joyful salutation, 'Come, ye blessed of my Father,' or to share the resurrection of condemnation, replete with sorrow and anguish; and to suffer that dreadful denunciation, 'Go, ye cursed, into everlasting fire.'

"During this discourse the queen could not

forbear sometimes betraying her impatience, by interrupting the preacher; and the dean, finding that he had profited nothing by his lecture, at last bade her change her opinion, repent of her former wickedness, and settle her faith upon this ground, that only in Christ Jesus could she hope to be saved. She answered, again and again, with great earnestness, "trouble not yourself more about the matter: for I was born in this religion; I have lived in this religion; and in this religion I am resolved to die." Even the two earls perceived, that it was fruitless to harrass her any farther with theological disputes; and they ordered the dean to desist from his unseasonable exhortations, and to pray for her conversion. During the dean's prayer, she employed herself in private devotion from the office of the Virgin; and after he had finished she pronounced aloud some petitions in English, for the afflicted church, for an end of her own troubles, for her son, and for queen Elizabeth; and prayed God, that that princess might long prosper, and be employed in his service. The earl of Kent observing, that, in her devotions, she made frequent use of the crucifix, could not forbear reproving her for her attachment to that popish trumpery, as he termed it; and he exhorted her to have Christ in her heart, not in her hand. She replied, with presence of mind, that it was difficult to hold such an object in her hand, without feeling her heart touched with some compunction.

"She now began, with the aid of her two women, to disrobe herself, and the executioner

also lent his hand, to assist them. She smiled, and said, that she was not accustomed to undress herself before so large a company, nor to be served by such valets. Her servants, seeing her in this condition, ready to lay her head upon the block, burst into tears and lamentations: she turned about to them, put her finger upon her lips, as a sign of imposing silence upon them; and having given them her blessing, desired them to pray for her. One of her maids, whom she had appointed for that purpose, covered her eyes with a handkerchief; she laid herself down, without any sign of fear or trepidation, and her head was severed from her body at two strokes by the executioner. He instantly held it up to the spectators, streaming with blood, and agitated with the convulsions of death: the dean of Peterborow alone exclaimed, "So perish all queen Elizabeth's enemies:" the earl of Kent alone replied, "Amen." The attention of the other spectators was fixed on the melancholy scene before them; and zeal and flattery alike gave place to present pity and admiration of the expiring princess."*

Lest any should cavil at the term assassin being applied to the queen's officers, by their own acknowledgment they deserved that name. Carew, president of Munster, owns that he employed many assassins. Moryson says the same of Mountjoy, that he employed assassins to dispatch O'Neil. Both agreed not to admit any to submission until he had done service on some of his

* Hume's Hist. of England, vol. v.

party, and they give instances of those who murdered some of their friends to obtain pardon, or, to use their phrase, "Who put themselves in blood;" and Moryson has preserved Elizabeth's orders, "not to pardon any but upon service done, not only upon those whom particularly they hated but upon any other as they should be directed." Then only could they be admitted as loyal subjects when they were covered with the guilt of assassination and treason.

If the logical maxim be true, as it strictly is, *qui est causa causæ est causa causati*, i. e. who-so produceth a necessary cause is the author of all the consequences, the English forces drove the Irish to such extremities, as necessarily led to man eating, therefore they were themselves the real deliberate cannibals. But the English throw the odium of these horrors on, what they are pleased to call, the rebellion of the Irish. A war, in defence of hereditary rights, against the usurpation of tyrants, and in defence of civil and religious liberty, is a sacred duty, owned by protestants, and every where practised by them. The Hugonots fought seven-and-twenty pitched battles, besides numberless skirmishes, against their legal sovereign, in defence of what they conceived their civil and religious rights. The Lutherans, in Germany, waged a thirty years war against the emperor, in defence of their rights, real or imaginary. The English protestants beheaded one king, and expelled another, with his whole lineage, on the same grounds. They all agreed in scouting passive obedience and non-resistance,

as a damnable popish doctrine. The motives, that drove them to war, were but molehills to the mountains of oppression, treason and inhumanity, that goaded the unfortunate Irish to fight for their lives, and for all that makes life of any value; as may be seen in the foregoing pages. O'Neil, by shewing the numerous encroachments, perfidies, and spoliations, practised on his territory and people, by English officers and garrisons, convinced general Norris and his council, that he was goaded to resistance by these wrongs. He convinced the English council of the same, who transmitted directions to the government of the Pale, to desist from oppressing a potentate wishing to support the English connexion on supportable conditions. He convinced the earl of Essex of the same, who promised to use his interest with the queen, to grant the contents of their petition, which Leland had the impudence to call insolent. They probably were so called by Elizabeth's flatterers, her court and parliament, who worshipped her petticoat holiness with the most fulsome, servile and profligate adulation; allowing her plenipotentiary power over their lives, fortunes and consciences; and changing creeds and ceremonies with more arbitrary authority than ever popes or councils durst assume.

Terms or conditions will appear moderate or insolent, according to the temper and relative situation of the parties. To a tyrant, accustomed to give audience, even to officers of state, and members of parliament, on their knees, incensing

her fastidious ears with Blarney perfumes, in terms only appropriate to the Deity, every thing savouring of liberty and independence must appear shocking; a petition of rights must be frightful insolence. It must be observed, that the terms of that sort of alliance, or feudal subordination, acknowledged by the Irish chieftains to England, varied from the beginning, according to the relative strength of the contracting parties. Henry II. ratified the dominion of Roderick O'Connor, and the other kings and chieftains, as then established, in all their possessions, laws and usages. When these were grossly infringed on, they appealed to the king of England and the treaty of Windsor, from whom they sometimes obtained satisfaction. Yet Henry himself violated his own treaty, bestowing shortly afterwards the lands of his feudatory Irish allies to various English adventurers. About the middle of the fourteenth century, new infractions occasioned the war of Arthur O'Cavenagh, which, frequently suspended by truces, and as often renewed, during a long series of years, terminated in the complete humiliation of the Pale, which thenceforward became tributary to the house of O'Cavenagh. In the 28th year of Henry VIII. when the crown became absolute, on the extinction of the civil wars, by the reunion of the claims of the two rival houses in one man, the demand of the tribute appeared insolent, and met a refusal. The Milesian interest had declined, as the English had increased, during that period. The English executive had acquired additional

strength, by becoming absolute; and was dis-embarrassed from any necessity of continental wars, by the loss of the French domains. The earl of Kildare, at the head of the Pale government, held in the alliance of his son-in-law, Conbaccagh O'Neil, could defy Mac Murchad. As the Milesian power was continually on the wane, they were lowering the terms of their feudal allegiance, agreeably to their condition. The terms, on which they would persevere in their allegiance, offered by O'Neil and the northern chieftains to the queen, were more meek and submissive than they were before, and far more advantageous to England, than the course she took with them.

In order to understand the greatness of the sacrifice O'Neil was willing to make for the preservation of peace, it must be remarked, that the northern Irish had hitherto been governed by their own laws and usages, administered by their own chieftains, invested with every right of sovereignty both for peace and war. Now they agreed to admit sheriffs into their countries, and let these be parcelled out into shire ground: to descend from the state of sovereignty, to that of subjects: to furnish certain contingents, for the support of government in war and peace, the maintenance of police, and the administration of justice: to become instrumental in reconciling the people to these changes. The conditions stipulated for these, to them unprecedented concessions, would appear to any, but the jaundiced eye of a party writer, very reasonable and mode-

rate. Liberty of conscience: to continue in the profession of the natural faith; support their clergy and seminaries for their education; and places for worship: that the sheriff should be a man of probity and property, known and resident in the country for which he should be appointed: that the depredations of garrisons should be restrained, and no new ones appointed: undertaking at their own expense to maintain such force of horse and foot as would suffice for the preservation of tranquillity, and be ready at a call for the queen's service: a general amnesty, and possession of their lands. But the temper and views of the queen, her council and officers, presented insuperable obstacles to any equitable settlement. Nothing but an unlimited, unqualified submission to her will, in all matters, civil and ecclesiastical, could satisfy a tyrant, corrupted by the base servility of her vile English slaves.* Head and foundress of a new sect, her passion for proselytism, for extinguishing by violence and persecution the catholic faith, and planting on its ruins her actual creed, or any she might afterwards devise, for she claimed, and was allowed, full power to change creed and ceremonies at her will,† amounted to a phrenzy. No degree of loyalty or merit could compensate with her, for the treasonable crime of attachment to the antient church. Hence her mortal aversion to the antient, especially the northern Irish. They could not be prevailed

* See Hume.—Elizabeth.

† Ibid.

upon to abolish popish seminaries, expel priests, introduce preachers of the new faith, renounce the pope, and turn converts to the doctrines of the female pontiff. Their ample landed patrimonies formed another heinous and irremissible crime. Greedy adventurers, relatives or dependants of her courtiers, her officers, their adherents, and the settlers, thirsted for the spoils of the Irish. Munster and Leinster had already been pretty well dissected, but Ulster continued entire, though many attempts had been made on it. There, still, seminaries were supported, the catholic faith preserved; the secular and regular clergy maintained possession of their livings, in unbroken communion with the see of Rome, to the great grief of the female pontiff and her proselyte counsellors. She was sensible she might command the homage and allegiance of Hugh O'Neil, in civil matters, and much complaisance to the converts to her new church; but while his tolerance, a quality unknown in that age of religious rage and persecution, was misinterpreted by his enemies as indifference to religion, and flattering Elizabeth with hopes of his conversion, she found, by long experience, that the favours she conferred on him, and the still greater proffers, on condition of yielding some points in religion, that on that nothing could be obtained from the northerns.

Leland boasts, that the persecuting laws against catholics were not enforced during Elizabeth's reign. First, it is not true. Wheresoever her power extended, persecution accompanied it,

Secondly, if she persecuted her English subjects for their faith, to whom she might feel some national attachment, some other principle, besides friendship or moderation; must have restrained her iron rod over the Irish, whom she hated as a nation and as catholics. If it was good policy to hide from them the view of imposing English government on them, as Essex advised, until they should be broken by their divisions, fighting the battles of England against each other, it was yet more necessary to conceal from them, the intention of extirpating the national catholic faith, and planting what they considered heresy in its place. Religion assailed, might give them a bond of union, a party badge, to which all, who would not adhere, would be regarded as abominable outcasts, execrable apostates. O'Neil knew the artifices of the hypocritical tyrant, and the perfidy of her councils, having personal knowledge of her court and counsellors. She gave abundant proofs of the fury of her zeal, for the extinction of popery, and the propagation of novel doctrines, in England, in Holland, and in France. She, in the beginning of her reign, deposed all the catholic bishops, fourteen in number, for refusing to acknowledge her supremacy and deformed religion, and incarcerated them for life. She punished recusants, i. e. those who refused to attend protestant worship, with fines, imprisonment; and, under various pretences, and fictitious crimes, not willing to own persecution for religion, they were pursued with torture, death, and confiscation of pro-

perty. The ordinary jails of the kingdom, unable to hold the victims of persecution, new jails were appointed all over the kingdom for their detention. Treason, sedition, or any thing else, formed the pretence; but religion was the cause. The profession and maintenance of the catholic faith was made treason.* The various instruments of her tyranny are related in the appendix to Hume's Elizabeth.† The different sorts of punishment, inflicted on those incarcerated for their religion, in the tower of London, are thus described by a prisoner, in the fifth year of his confinement, "Solitary confinement, without books, pens, ink, paper, or any intercourse with other prisoners, with a turnkey to watch every one at his peculiar cell. Seven kinds of punishment. 1. The black-hole; a subterraneous cavern, twenty feet deep, without light. 2. A most narrow cell, in which one can scarcely stand, called Little ease, on account of the uneasiness it gives. 3. The Rack; a machine impelled by wooden wheels, which violently pulls the limbs from each other. 4. The Scavenger's daughter; an iron wheel, by which the hands, head and feet are forcibly bent together. 5. Iron Gloves, grievously torturing the hands. 6. Chains on the arms. 7. Chains on the legs. When one computes the variety of tortures inflicted here during the last four years, one may easily guess the vast sufferings of the catholics in the ten other prisons of this city, and in the multiplied jails of the kingdom, during a reign of twenty-seven years."

* See at supra, Vol. I, p. 455.

† Ibid. p. 458, &c.

She reigned fourteen years longer, the scourge of the catholics of Ireland.

From a view of all the measures, foreign and domestic, of this reign, O'Neil was justified in proclaiming to his countrymen, that Elizabeth's wars on the Irish were for displanting antient generation, and for planting heresy on their ruins. He was prophetic in announcing, that if they gave not their helping hands to national independence, they would bring great ruin and calamity on themselves. That extermination was their object, appears from their not accepting the homage of the Irish on any reasonable terms; such as, liberty of conscience, and security of property, being objects for the insurance of which governments are chiefly appointed and supported. From their forcing English laws, while they made them abominable instruments of rapine and cruelty, as we have seen, in the different Irish territories, to which they sent such profligate marauders as Willis, in quality of sheriffs. From the infernal means practised and avowed, for the reduction of Ireland; forgery, famine, treachery, assassination, and other diabolical stratagems. From their inhumanity, in admitting none to pardon, unless he first betrayed or murdered some of his friends; a condition more intolerable to a man of honor than death; they manifested their intention to go on with the work of death until extermination was accomplished. Consequently, all the odium of that detestable crusade against the religion, lives and properties of the Irish, and of

the hellish barbarities employed to subjugate them, lie at the door of that execrable fury, and her hardened infuriate counsellors and ministers. None of her apologists can justify or acquit her of the perfidious murder of Mary queen of Scots, over whom, as a foreigner and a queen, she had no jurisdiction, chiefly from her hatred to the catholic religion, after inviting her by letters, replete with insidious blandishments, and treacherous professions of friendship, to come to England, as to an asylum from the troubles which persecuted her in Scotland. Actuated by the same hatred, she deprived her of the rites of the church at her last moments; and, instead of suffering a catholic clergyman to attend her, sent an unfeeling, anti-christian brute, to torment and plague her with bigotted nonsense of denunciations, unless she recanted previous to her execution.

Thus miserably expired the Milesian power, after subsisting in Ireland three thousand years; sometimes struggling with difficulties, oftener in splendor, and the most honorable kind of glory; sanctity, learning, hospitality, charity, valor and honor; the merit of diffusing religion, learning and useful arts, among several barbarous nations, the English for instance, as Bede, Alfred, and Cambden testify.

Besides the forementioned causes of their decline, two others may be noticed, verifying the adage, "Pride will get a fall." It was the pride of the provincial kings, unwilling to acknowledge the controul of superiors, that pre-

vented the restoration of the monarchy and the states, during the long interregnum of 440 years. The pride of the house of Heber, opposed the patriotic efforts of O'Nial and O'Conner, for restoring the constitution, by crowning Edward Bruce, descended from Heremon, king of Ireland. The same spirit of pride made the Milesians averse to the mechanical arts and traffic, in general to all laborious occupations unattended by eclat or notice; consequently, the towns were always in the possession of foreigners, Phenicians, Carthaginians, Danes and English, one of the principal causes of their final overthrow. In music, poetry, and other branches of learning; in athletic exercises, and feats of arms; in ball pursuits that draw attention, and lead to fame, their superior abilities of mind and body shone forth. In such pursuits they could display energy, perseverance and patience unequalled. The remaining history of Ireland, may justly be called the history of the English colonists; as taking the lead in every transaction of importance, and using the remains of the Milesians as instruments.

Hitherto Leland was partial enough to the settlers, but since the demon of discord forced religious parties on the Irish, the bane of Ireland, as lord Clare justly called it, the national partizan is lost in the protestant bigot. From the beginning of this reign, James I. they may expect to share his invectives along with the more antient natives. He begins by a false statement, that religion had no share in the wars of the Irish

with Elizabeth. That it was the policy of Elizabeth, and her Irish partizans, to hold that language, is true; but it is equally true, that the Irish, in all their treaties, insisted on a toleration of their religion, which was as constantly and obstinately refused them. Wherefore did Coke, in the prosecution of the earl of Essex, bring forward, as a treasonable act, the consent of that nobleman, when deputy of Ireland, to the demands of the Irish for liberty of conscience, which he calls tolerating an idolatrous religion? Persecution did not, indeed, because it could not, range so widely in Ireland as in England, until the subjugation of the northern Irish; plainly, because it would augment the numbers and strength of the confederates; and also, because what Leland calls the popish party was, the whole Irish nation of all races, with few exceptions; so few, as, without the aid of English forces, would only excite ridicule and contempt, by any attempt to enforce penalties. The case was soon altered, when the antient Irish were prostrate. The English settlers, who foolishly flattered themselves with an accession of strength by the depression of the Milesians; felt in their turn the baneful effect of national division, suffering for their religion along with those whom they assisted to hunt down. That Elizabeth was a stranger to toleration, is allowed by Hume. That she was a furious persecutress of catholics, wherever she could safely indulge her temper, is proved from undeniable authorities, even her acts of parliament, Saunders, Hume, &c.

The Dr. says, "The incessant diligence of the emissaries of Rome, infused the poison of religious rancour with too great success, and propagated such doctrines in this reign, as must ever be abhorred and execrated.....A virulent popish party was thus formed in Ireland, which the vigour of Elizabeth's government, and the success of her arms, had kept within some restraint, but which was secretly animated by the emissaries of Rome. If the laws were executed against recusants, they inveighed against the horrid and unchristian persecution; if government indulged them with lenity and connivance, they derided its fears, and affected to despise the temporizing policy. On the accession of James the first, they in some places encouraged their votaries, by assuring them that the new king was of the Romish religion; in others, they preached the infant's right of succession; and taught their ignorant disciples, that he could not be a lawful king, who had not been established by the pope, and had not sworn to defend the catholic religion. Such were the effects of these pestilent insinuations, that several cities of Leinster, and almost all the cities of Munster, now conspired to avow their contempt of penal statutes, and to restore the Romish worship in its full splendour. Disdaining to confine their devotions any longer to privacy and retirement, they ejected the reformed ministers from their churches, they seized those religious houses which had been converted to civil uses, they erected their crosses, they celebrated their masses pompously

and publicly, and their ecclesiastics were seen marching in procession, cloathed in the habits of their respective orders.

“In Cork, the factious ecclesiastics were particularly numerous and turbulent. One of them had received, or pretended, a legantine authority from Rome; and the citizens paid a ready obedience to his commission. Their magistrates at first refused to proclaim the king, demanding time to consider of it; and when reminded that he had already been proclaimed in Dublin, they answered coldly, that “Simmel also had been proclaimed in Dublin.” Yet, not daring to persevere in this insolent and dangerous opposition to authority, after some affected delay, they at length published the proclamation in their liberties; which they notified to the lord deputy Mountjoy, and at the same time demanded that Halbowling, a fort built in the late reign to protect the city against invasion, should be delivered into the hands of their mayor and citizens. The commissioners for executing the presidency of Munster on the departure of George Carew, and the officers of the army, were justly alarmed at their extravagances, and determined to strengthen every post in the neighbourhood of Cork, by which the seditious inhabitants might be kept in awe: and this was effected not without opposition and some bloodshed. To the remonstrances of the lord deputy, the citizens replied with little respect and reserve. As to the point of religion, in which they had been particularly offensive, they answered boldly, that

" they only exercised now publicly that, which ever before they had been suffered to exercise privately; and as their public prayers gave testimony of their faithful hearts to the king, so they were tied to be no less careful to manifest their duties to God, in which they would never be dissembling temporizers."

" The seditious spirit thus diffused through the cities of the south, was particularly provoking and distressing at a time when the whole attention of government was required to relieve the nation from those afflicting calamities, which a series of wars and devastations had produced. Mountjoy soon determined to march into Munster at the head of the royal army. At Waterford he found the gates shut against him, the citizens pleaded, that, by a charter of king John, they were exempt from quartering soldiers. Two ecclesiastics, in the habits of their order, and with the cross erected, presented themselves before the lord deputy in his camp, and insolently declared, that the citizens of Waterford could not in conscience obey any prince that persecuted the catholic faith. But although he condescended to listen to these ecclesiastics, and took the advantage of his theological studies to detect their false quotations from the fathers, yet he treated the citizens with the severity of an offended governour. He threatened " to draw king James's sword and cut the charter of king John to pieces," to level their city with the ground, and strew it with salt: and his menaces were effectual. He was immediately admitted;

the inhabitants at once swore allegiance, and renounced all foreign jurisdiction; and a strong garrison was placed in their city, to deter them from future insolences.

“Cashel, Clonmel, Limerick, and other cities, which had declared for the free and public exercise of popery, were intimidated by the spirit of Mountjoy, and reduced to the same compliances. Cork had been actually invested by the southern forces as a rebellious city; but on the first appearance of the lord deputy the gates were opened without treaty or stipulation.”*

How blind is bigotry! They were not the emissaries of Rome, but the emissaries of England, who created a virulent popish party here; and they were at work in the latter end of her reign. After the fatal siege of Kinsale, where the Irish interest received an irrecoverable blow, the reserve in the execution of the penal statutes was set aside. They were rigorously enforced, an anti-christian barbarous cruelty was aggravated by arrogant contempt of the persons and faith of the vanquished. That they were enforced before James's accession is evident, even from Leland's text; since catholic worship was before obliged to skulk in secrecy; and the public profession thereof, by the loyal English colonists of Waterford, Cork, Limerick, and Cashel, treated as rebellion against the king and laws, by deputy Mountjoy, who put some to death for the same.

* Leland, Vol. II. Book IV. c. vi. p. 412.

The Irish catholics, both of English and Irish race, had the first essay of James's duplicity; a failing which, unfortunately for themselves and their loyal subjects, infected his descendants. The catholics of the Pale, and the towns, steadfast partizans of England, who assisted in the wars against the old Irish with purse and hand, thought themselves entitled to some indulgence on the score of conscience, from their innovating rulers; as having a common interest with them. In the beginning of a new reign some acts of grace and conciliation would naturally be expected, especially from the son of the beautiful and accomplished Mary queen of Scots, whose zeal for the catholic faith was none of the least motives that induced her treacherous cousin to murder her with legal formality. It was insinuated to them, that James was secretly of their own communion, or was inclined that way; and the least hope held out to them was that of unlimited toleration of their faith and worship.

"Some few years before queen Elizabeth's death, king James was at the utmost pains to gain the friendship of Roman catholic princes, as a necessary precaution to facilitate his accession to the English throne. Lord Home, who was himself a Roman catholic, was entrusted with a most secret commission to the Pope; the archbishop of Glasgow, another Roman catholic, was very active with those of his own religion. Sir James Lindsay made great progress in gaining the English papists." And as it seems to have been part of that

king's policy, in order to pave the way to his succession, "to waste the vigor of the state of England by some insensible, yet powerful means," he had his agents in Ireland fomenting Tirone's war,* ("the Scots daily carrying munition to the rebels in Ulster.") So that the queen was driven to an almost incredible expence in carrying it on,† and her enemies still encouraged by James's secret assistance and promises.

"It is certain," says Mr. Osburne, "that the promise king James made to Roman catholics, was registered, and amounted so high at least as a toleration of their religion.

"Of these intrigues, queen Elizabeth received obscure hints from several quarters." Her majesty, in a letter to the king himself, in

* And this wicked policy had its full effect; for we find that in the year 1602, "the queen had a sharp encounter with secretary Cecil, about the poverty of the state. She was made to fear all kinds of distress, that want in the subject, and excess of charges to the state, was likely to bring her to: they (Cecil's enemies) sought to make those suspected who persuaded the Irish war, and those either negligent or corrupt, who conducted it; putting a firm conceit, and not improbable, as it is set out in colors, that the Irish war, being the chiefest drain of her consumption, is fortified, and fed for other men's particulars."—Secret Correspondence, &c. p. 75.

"After Tirone's return from rebellion, he told Sir Thomas Phillips and many others, that if his submission was not accepted, he had contracted with the Spaniards to fortify two or three places in the north, where his allies and friends in the Scottish isles should, and might with ease, relieve and supply him."—Harris. Hib. part i. fol. 130.

† "The queen's charge for Ireland," says Moryston,

1599, gave him to understand, "that there were many letters from Rome and elsewhere, which told the names of men, authorised by him (though she hoped falsely) to assure his conformity as time might serve, to establish the dangerous party, and fail his own."

"The catholics, in the different provinces of Ireland, were, on James's accession, so much elated with the hope of the abovementioned toleration, and had taken up such an opinion that the king himself was a catholic, that they ran into some excesses, which have been since unfairly represented by adverse historians, as so many overt acts of treason and rebellion. For, on that mistaken notion, they exercised their religion publicly, and even seized on some churches for their own use.*

"from the 1st of April 1600, to the 29th of March 1602, was two hundred and eighty-three thousand, six hundred and seventy-three pounds, nineteen shillings and four-pence halfpenny."—Hist. of Ireland, fol. 197.

* There never was more glaring instances of royal hypocrisy exhibited by any prince, than frequently appeared in James I. through the whole course of his reign. His seeming favor towards, or enmity against, his Roman catholic subjects, was always regulated by some present interest in view. In the year 1616, in compliance with the request of his puritanical parliament, he thus ridiculously expresses his sentiments, with respect to the punishment he would have inflicted on popish priests: "I confess," says he, "I am loath to hang a priest only for religion sake, and saying mass: but if he refuses to take the oath of allegiance (which, let the pope and all the devils in hell say what they will, yet as you find by my book, is merely civil) those that so refuse the oath, and are polypragmatic, I leave them to the law: to them I join those that break prison; for

'Tis no way surprising, that a catholic nation should be elated by such encouraging, tho' fallacious appearances, should think themselves entitled to complete toleration, and the possession of churches built by themselves, at a time when there was scarcely one protestant to two hundred catholics, when the nobility and gentry, the parliament, and all the corporations of the kingdom, were almost all of that persuasion. 'Tis rather surprising, that the vain-glorious and foolish pedant could not see the expediency, as well as justice, of granting even to the loyal partizans of the pale and the towns, what Mountjoy and Bacon, converts to the new church, recommended as expedient to be extended to all the Irish. " Lord deputy Mountjoy, in a letter to the lords of the council in England, seems to impute to

such priests as the prison will not hold, 'tis a plain sign nothing will hold them but the halter."—Speech in the Star Chamber.

Yet in the year 1622, when he had a favourite point to carry (the marriage of prince Charles) at a popish court, he told his council in a public speech, " that the Roman catholics of England had sustained great and intolerable surcharges, imposed on their goods, bodies, and consciences, during queen Elizabeth's reign, of which they hoped to be relieved in his: that now he had maturely considered their penury and calamities, that they were in the number of his faithful subjects, and that he was resolved to relieve them."—Sir Peter Pett. *Oblig. of the Oath of Supremacy*, fol. 338.

In king James I's reign, even chief justice Coke maintained publicly at the trial of Mrs. Turner, that popery was one of the seven deadly sins. And Bacon on the same occasion, then attorney-general, and afterwards chancellor, took care to observe, that poisoning was a popish trick. Stowe tells us, that when this king came to Newcastle, on

fraud and severity, the continuance of the war even to this time. "All the Irish," says he, "that are now obstinate, are so only out of their diffidence to be safe in any forgiveness; and though they are weary of the war, they are unwilling to have it ended, for fear lest, upon a peace, there would ensue a severe reformation of religion. They have the ancient swelling, and desire of liberty, in their countrymen, to work upon; their fear to be rooted out, and to have their old faults punished upon particular discontents; and generally all over the kingdom, their fear of a persecution for religion; the least of which, alone, have been many times sufficient to drive the best and most quiet states into the greatest confusion." Nay, he even seemed to apprehend, that these fears, and their diffidence to be safe in any for-

his entry into England, he gave liberty to all the prisoners, except those confined for treason, murder, and papistry. Such, says my author, were the bigotted prejudices which prevailed in this age."—See Hume's *Hist. of England*, vol. iv. p. 84.

Lord Mountjoy, in a letter to the sovereign of Wexford, acquaints him, "that whereas they excused their erecting of popish rites, by the report that they heard of his majesty's being a Roman catholic, he could not but marvel at their simplicity." *Morys. Hist. fol. 287.*—And in a letter to the mayor of Cork, he says, "I am given to understand that you have suffered the public celebration of the mass to be set up in your city, of your own fancies; and I assure you, contrary to the religion which his majesty zealously professeth." *Morys. ib. fol. 288.*

Indeed his majesty's notions in that respect, seem to have been, on some occasions, perfectly wild and romantic: for in one of his public speeches we find the following strange declaration addressed to the papists: "Ye are intolerably

givenness, " would keep all spirits from settling, breed new combinations, and even stir the towns themselves to solicit foreign aid, with promise to cast themselves under their protection." In order to prevent which, he submits to their lordship's consideration, the following particulars:

" As all pain and anguish, impatient of the present, doth use change for a remedy, so (says his lordship) will it be impossible for us to settle the minds of those people into a peace, or reduce them unto order, while they feel the smart of these sensible griefs, and apparent fears, which I have remembered to your lordships, without some hopes of redress and security." After which he tells them, " that they should be advised how they punished in their bodies and goods, such merely for religion, as did profess to be faithful subjects, and against whom the contrary could not be proved." Lord Verulam, in a letter to secretary Cecil, about the same time,

silly," said he, " for thinking that the government of your souls was committed by God to the pope. For my part, I swear, and call God to witness, that if I had found out now, after all my deep study, daily reading, frequent conferences and disputations with learned men, and my most intense meditation on all I have read and heard, that the pope was Christ's vicar on earth, and that the same authority which Christ delegated to Peter descended to him, I would not only turn papist, but would also kill any king, whose subject I was, that persecuted or opposed the popish religion, if the pope commanded me to do so." Porter, p. 270.—Had his majesty been sincere in this speech, is it credible that he would have suffered any person to live in his dominions, who really believed the pope to be Christ's vicar on earth, (as all Roman catholics do) and who consequently must be sup-

earnestly recommended the same lenity and forbearance, with respect to these people. "I think," says he, "that much letting of blood in the decline of the disease, is against all method of cure; that it will but exasperate necessity and despair; and perchance, discover the hollowness of that which is done already; which none blazeth to the best shew. But of all other points, to my understanding, the most effectual is the well expressing or impressing, the design of England on that miserable and desolate nation; that the queen seeketh not an extirpation of the people, but a reduction; and now that she hath chastised them by royal power and arms, according to the necessity of the occasion, that her majesty taketh no pleasure in the effusion of blood, and the displanting of ancient generations."

King James ascended the throne, to the satisfaction of all parties, as uniting in his person every claim of descent or bequest. Tyrone he received graciously, and dismissed him with honour, to take possession of his estates in Ireland, forbidding, by proclamation, all manner

posed capable and ready to execute that, by the pope's command, which he himself thus solemnly declares he would do, in consequence of such belief.

In the eleventh year of this king's reign "John Boys, D. D. dean of Canterbury, gained great applause by turning the Lord's prayer into the following execration, when he preached at Paul's cross on the fifth of November. "Our pope, which art in Rome, cursed be thy name, perish may thy kingdom, hindered may thy will be, as it is in heaven, so in earth. Give us this day our cup in the Lord's supper,

of reproach for the rebellion. By another proclamation under the great seal, he published a general amnesty, whereby people were secured from prosecutions of law for offences against the crown of England, or for trespasses between subject and subject, during the troubles. On coming to the justices of assize during a given time, and claiming the benefit thereof, former misconduct was to be pardoned, remitted, and utterly extinguished, never to be revived or called in question, "This bred such comfort and security in the hearts of all men, as thereupon ensued the calmest and most universal peace that was ever seen in Ireland."* Alas! these halcyon days were but of short duration, for the unfortunate nobles and gentlemen of Ulster, yea, for all Ireland, as we shall shortly see. In the second year of his reign, unmindful of all his former promises of favour to the catholics, he strictly prohibited the exercise of their religion to those of Ireland, banishing the clergy, and inflicting severe penalties on all such as would be found to harbour or entertain them, enjoining the immediate and strict execution of an act of uni-

and remit our monies, which we have given for thy indulgences, as we send them back unto thee, and lead us not into heresy, but free us from misery; for thine is the infernal pitch and sulphur, for ever and ever. Amen."—Grainger's Biograph. Hist. Eng. vol. i. p. 356.

Such was then, the almost incredible malignity and rancour against popery, that so prophane and ridiculous a travesty should be celebrated, as a performance of singular merit, in a dignified protestant divine.—Curry's Review.

* Dav. Hist. Rel.

formity, pretended to have been passed by the parliament of the Pale, in the second year of Elizabeth, though now first published in the second of James. For, first, during the whole of Elizabeth's reign, a considerable majority of that assembly was catholic; nor is it credible, that they would pass that persecuting statute against themselves. Secondly, in a statute of the second of Elizabeth, some distinction would be perceivable, between the country subject to the jurisdiction of the provincial parliament, and the Irish countries not subject thereto. For at that time six counties only returned members to the colonial assembly, the rest of Ireland being governed by chieftains of English or Irish descent. Thirdly, it must have been enacted at a time when justices of assize could make circuits throughout the whole realm; because the only exceptions, mentioned in the act, are such towns corporate as they did not visit, where the power of enforcing the penal statutes is vested by this act in the mayors, bailiffs, or head officers in such places. Fourthly, the expression, peers of parliament of English blood, supposes peers of parliament of Irish blood in the colonial assembly, which was not the case at the pretended date of the act. Lastly, there is no possibility of clearing James from the base crime of forging this act, with all its penalties, in order to enforce it by proclamation in Ireland, except by supposing that the partizans of innovation framed and entered it on the journals of the colonial assembly clandestinely, where it must have lain un-

known to the catholic members, composing a great majority of both houses of parliament, during near half a century; if any one can suppose that none of them looked at the journals for so long a space of time. Lynch and Curry impute the forgery to Irish reformers in Bess's time. "By this act all catholics are obliged to assist at the protestant church service, every sunday and holiday on the penalty of twelve pence, and of what, indeed, was infinitely more grievous, the censure of the ecclesiastical courts, for each default. Roman catholics of condition, under the title of Inquisitors, were particularly appointed by the state, to watch and inform against those of their own communion, who did not frequent the protestant churches on these days; which, when through a scruple of conscience they neglected, or refused to do, they were grievously fined, and condemned to a long and irksome imprisonment."* In the proclamation to this forged statute, published July 4th, 1605, some consciousness of a breach of promise appears:" "that whereas his majesty was informed, that his subjects of Ireland had been deceived by a false report, that his majesty was disposed to give them liberty of conscience, and the free choice of a religion contrary to that which he always professed himself, by which means it has happened that many of his subjects of that kingdom had firmly resolved to remain constantly in that religion—wherefore he declared to all his

* Curry's Hist. Rev.

beloved subjects of Ireland, that he would not admit any such liberty of conscience as they were made to expect by that report. And then orders all, and each, of his subjects, for the time to come, to frequent their respective churches and chapels," &c. This persecution was not only lawless tyranny, but an affront to the reason, as well as the feelings of men, fitted to excite alternate laughter and contempt, alternate scorn and horror.*

Hitherto the policy of England willingly embraced every plan of treachery, and cruelty for the subjugation of the sister island, until it was accomplished by fire, sword, famine, pestilence, and infinite butcheries, scenes of horror, according to the confession of the perpetrators, unequalled in any history of human calamities they ever saw. Now the butchers having performed their part, and the carcass ready for dissection, James, and the puritan party whom he espoused, enjoyed an opportunity of slicing and carving at pleasure. Some formalities they deemed expedient to give the colouring of legal sanction to their proceedings. The introduction of English law, and justice, afforded a specious pretext for facilitating and mitigating the abominable plunder, shortly after committed and often repeated on Irish property. Sheriffs were appointed for the newly established divisions of the north into counties, and itinerant judges and lawyers made the northern circuit in 1604, (de-

* Burke.

puty Sussex, in company with the chancellor, attorney general Davies, and other crown officers) to SETTLE the subdued and wasted Irish countries, called M'Mahon's, M'Guire's and O'Reilly's countries; since then, the counties of Monaghan, Fermanagh and Cavan, for the purpose of dissolving the ties that connected those northern clans with their chiefs, by abolishing gavel-kind, by which a whole sept possessed a territory in fee, but subject to repartitions, except the portion allotted for the chief, the tanist, the church, and the hereditary brehons, antiquarians and bards. As the chief was advanced by election, and his heir inherited not the chieftainry nor its appurtenances, he was but a tenant for life, and therefore could by no act forfeit that for ever to the crown which he held by a life tenure. This was among the reasons for changing this tenure into hereditary, accepted as a grant from the crown, by a patent, with clauses and conditions of service and tribute, under the penalty of forfeiture. This smoothed the way for the confiscations that took place afterwards. Under pretence of civilizing the Irish, and reforming their religion, with the Mahometan arguments of fire, sword and famine, with fines, imprisonments and tortures, extermination and plunder were the objects of the invaders, both before and after their change of religion. First, they persecuted them for not yielding temporal power to the pope, and next for not renouncing his spiritual supremacy. James himself had no quarrel with the catholic faith, professing to condemn only the supremacy

assumed by them in civil matters. His persecution of Irish catholics, was the more inexcusable, as they cordially agreed with him in rejecting that arrogant usurpation of the pontiffs. With a perfidy and hypocrisy, degrading and fatal to the Stuart family, he sacrificed his duty as a sovereign, and his steadfast friends, to the secret enemies of the monarchy and of his house.

Arrived at Monaghan, among the M'Mahons, "the most proud and barbarous sept among the Irish, and do ever soonest repine, and kick, and spurne at the English government,"* the deputy proceeded on his business. "He first propounded to the inhabitants of the country two principal questions in writing, viz. First, what lands they were at that instant possessed of; and, secondly, what lands they claimed either by patent from the crown, or by promise from the state. When they had given their several answers to these questions, my lord deputy thought meet to inform himself of the particular estate of the country, by perusing the book of division made by Sir William Fitz-Williams, which remained among the rolls in the chancery, the lord chancellor had brought with him on purpose for this service. By that book it did appear, that the county of Monaghan was divided into five baronies, viz. Dartry, Monaghan, Cremorne, Trough, and Donamayne. That these five baronies, contain an hundred Ballybetaghs, viz. Dartrey 21, Monaghan 21, Cremorne 22, Trough

* Davis. Letter to the earl of Salisbury.

15, and Donamayne 21. That every ballybetagh* (which signifieth in the Irish tongue a town able to maintain hospitality) contain 16 taths, each tath containing 60 English acres, or thereabouts; so as every ballibetagh containeth 960 acres, the extent of the whole containing 100 ballibetags, is 96000 acres, besides the church lands. All this country, albeit it were resumed and vested actually in the crown by the act of attainder of Shane O'Neal, notwithstanding the M'Mahons being still permitted to hold the possession, no man sought to have any grant thereof, until Walter, earl of Essex obtained the whole barony of Donamaine (otherwise called the Ferly and Clankavel) to himself and his heirs; and afterwards upon the execution of Hugh Roe M'Mahon, chief of his name, Sir William Fitz-Williams divided and disposed

* Biatac, Entertainer, from biath, food, whence the name Beatty or Beatty's-town. According to this statement, there was a house of entertainment, established for the reception of strangers and travellers at the public expence, on every townland of one thousand acres. According to this proportion, on supposition that one half the kingdom were inhabited, the number of such Biatach-houses would amount to five thousand; a munificence unequalled in any other part of the world. The food, drink, and other accommodations to be furnished gratis, the duration of the hospitable reception, were ascertained by law. Not only necessaries, but amusements were provided, such as chess, backgammon, and servants were to visit the roads, to direct travellers. What a pity the bountiful donors of comforts and hospitality to all strangers, travellers and distressed persons, and to none more than to English, should be starved by the ungrateful churls!

the other baronies in this manner. In the Daretrey five ballibetags were granted in demesne unto Bryon M'Hugh Oge M'Mahon, then reputed chief of his name, and the heirs male of his body, rendering 30l. rent, viz. 6l. for every ballibetagh, the other 16 ballibetags were divided among the antient inhabitants of that barony, some having a greater portion allotted, and some a less; howbeit every one did render a yearly rent of 20s. out of every tath, whereof 12s. 6d. was granted to Brian M'Hugh Oge M'Mahon, as a chief rent in lieu of all other duties, and 7s. 6d. was reserved to the crown; which plot was observed in every of the other baronies, so as out of every ballibetagh containing sixteen taths, the lord had 10l. and the king 6l.

“ In Monaghan, Ross Bane M'Mahon had likewise five ballibetags granted unto him, with the like estate, rendering to the queen 30l. rent, and the like chief rent, as aforesaid, out of nine ballybetags more, and in the same barony Patrick M'Art Moyle had three ballybetags allotted unto him with the like estate, rendering 18l. rent to the queen, and the like chief rent out of the other four.

“ In Cremorne, Ever M'Colla M'Mahon, who was the first of that name that entered into the late rebellion, and is now farmer to my lord of Essex of all his lands in that county, had five ballybetags in demesne granted unto him, and the heirs males of his body, rendering 30l. rent to the crown, and the like chief rent out of

twelve other ballybetaghs; and in the same barony one Patrick Duffe M'Colla M'Mahon had two ballybetaghs and a half assigned to him in demesne, rendering 15*l.* rent, and the like chief rent out of two other baronies and a half.

“ In the Trough containing only fifteen ballybetaghs, Patrick M'Kenna had three ballybetaghs, and twelve taths in demesne, given unto him, with the like estate rendering 22*l.* rent as aforesaid, and the like chief rent out of seven other ballybetaghs, and in the same barony one Bryan Oge M'Mahowne, brother to Hugh Roe, who was executed, had the like estate granted unto him in three ballybetaghs, rendering 18*l.* rent in like manner, and the like chief rent out of two other ballybetaghs, and under this condition, that if the patentees, or their assigns, did not within five years build a castle upon some part of this land, contained in the patents, their several grants to be void.

“ Thus it appeared, that these four baronies were then bestowed among the chief lords or gentlemen of that county, and as they had their demesne and rents allotted unto them, so the inferior inhabitants, which were so many in number, as it is not fit to trouble your lordship with the list of their particular names, were all named in the book of division, and had their several portions of land granted unto them, and to their heirs; howbeit the estates made to these petty freeholders were not subject to any conditions to defeat the same, but only to a nomine pene for non payment of their several rents;

whereas in every grant made to the lords, there was a threefold proviso, viz. that if any of them took upon him the name of M'Mahon, or did fail of payment of the queen's rent, or entered into rebellion, and were thereof attainted, their letters patent should be void.

“ Thus the temporal lands were disposed. For the church land, the abbey of Clunis, which was the only abbey of any value in that county, was formerly demised to Sir Henry Duke for years; but the rest of the spiritual lands, which the Irish call Termons, they were granted to sundry servitors rendering 10s. to the crown for every tath; which, out of all the church lands, amounted to 70l. per annum, or thereabouts; but as well these patentees, as the former, did all fail in performance of the conditions, whereupon their several estates depended; so as there wanted nothing but an office to be found thereof for the making void of all their patents; and therefore as soon as the state of the possessions of this country did appear unto my lord deputy to stand in such sort as is before expressed, his lordship forthwith commanded me to draw a special commission directed among others to the chief justice, and myself, to enquire as well of the breach of conditions contained in the grants before mentioned, as also of all escheated and concealed lands in the county. Accordingly the commission was drawn, and sealed in the hamper, in the execution whereof we impannelled as many of the patentees themselves as appeared at the sessions, to enquire of the articles contained in the

commission, so as they themselves found their own letters patents void, some for non-payment of the king's rent, and others for not building of castles within the time prescribed; besides they found divers of the inferior freeholders to have been slain in the late rebellion, whereby eight or nine ballibetags escheated to the crown, every ballibetagh (as I said before) containing 960 acres, or thereabouts; which office being found, there rested in the possession of the crown the greatest part of that county....

His purpose effected, Monaghan settled, Davis says, to the satisfaction of the inhabitants, the deputy proceeded to Fermanagh, and commenced in the following manner: "We called unto us the inhabitants of every barony severally, beginning with the barony of Magheryboy, wherein we camped, and so calling one barony after another, we had present certain of the clerks or scholars of the country, who knew all the septs and families, and their branches, and the dignity of one sept above another; and what families or persons were chief of every sept, and who were next, and who were of a third rank, and so forth, till they descended to the most inferior man in all the barony; moreover they took upon them to tell what quantity of land every man ought to have by the custom of their country, which is of the nature of gavel kind, whereby as their septs or families did multiply, their possessions have been from time to time divided, and subdivided, and broken into so many small parcels, as almost every acre of land

hath a several owner, who termeth himself a lord, and his portion of land his country. Notwithstanding as M'Guire himself had a chieffy over all the country, and some demesne that did ever pass to him only who carried that title, so was there a chief of every sept who had certain services, duties, and demesnes, that ever passed to the tanist of that sept, and never was subject to division. When this was understood, we first enquired whether one or more septs did possess that barony, which we had in hand, that being set down, we took the names of the chief parties of the sept, or septs, that did possess the barony, and also the names of such as were second in them, and so of others that were inferior unto them again in rank and impositions. Then whereas every barony containeth seven ballibetags and an half, we caused the name of every ballibetagh to be written down, and thereupon we made enquiry what portion of land or services every man held in every ballibetagh, beginning with such first as had land and services, and after naming such as had the greatest quantity of land, and so decending unto such as possessed only two taths. There we stayed, for lower we could not go, because we knew the purpose of the state was only to establish such freeholders as were fit to serve in juries; at least we had found by experience in the county of Monaghan, that such as had less than two taths allotted unto them, had not 40s. freehold per annum, ultra reprizas, and therefore were not of competent ability for that service. And yet the

number of freeholders named in this county was above two hundred; and in this order and method we digested the business touching the possessions and possessors of this county of Fermagh; which we presented to my lord deputy upon his return from Ballyhannon; his lordship having received it, and taken some consideration of it, called the principal inhabitants before him in the camp, told them he came of purpose to understand the estate of every particular man in that country, to the end to establish and settle the same according to his majesty's directions out of England, and that he had received some information thereof, which gave him some good satisfaction; howbeit that he would not suddenly take any final order touching the same, but would resolve what was fit to be done, and finish his service the next term at Dublin. His lordship's speech, and good demonstration to the people, gave them great contentment.....

“ Having spent six or seven days in this waste country, we raised our camp, and returned the same way which we had passed before into the county of Monaghan; and lodging the second night not far from the abbey of Clonays, we came the third day to the Cavan, and pitched our tents on the south side of that poor Irish town. The appearance of this place was very full; for not only the natives of the county of Cavan, but also many inhabitants of Westmeath and other parts of the Pale bordering on this country, (whereof some pretended title to

land, others came to demand debts, and others to give evidence against felons,) repaired to this sessions; the chief of which was the baron of Delvyn, who came attended with many followers.

“ My lord deputy having a purpose to pursue the same course in the service here, which had been holden in the other two counties, caused forthwith a commission to be drawn and pass the seals, whereby the judges of assize and others were authorized to enquire of all lands escheated to the crown in this county by attainder, outlawry, or actual killing in rebellion of any person, or by any other means whatsoever. For the dispatch of this business, a jury was impanelled of the best knights and gentlemen that were present, whereof some were foreign inhabitants of the Pale, and yet freeholders of this country, and the rest were the chief of every Irish sept, natives of this country. We received two presentments from them: the first of sundry freeholders who were slain in the late rebellion, and of such lands as they were severally seized of at the time of their killings. The second was, that Philip O'Reilye, who was, according to the custom of the country, created O'Reilye, and was lord and chieftain of the whole country, being seized of all lands, tenements, and hereditaments in Breny O'Reilye, in dominico suo et de feodo et jure (for these are the words of the inquisition) was slain in actual rebellion; and again they found, that after the death of Philip, one Edmond O'Reilye was, after the like custom of the country, created O'Reilye, and was in like

manner seized of the country, and being so seized, was slain in rebellion.* They found, lastly, that Sir John O'Reilye, who was chieftain and tanist of the country long before Philip and Edmond, did adhere to the earl of Tyrone, and other rebels, and died an actual rebel against the crown. This inquisition was found with some difficulty, because the jurors themselves, all claiming and pretending to be freeholders of the land within that county, were jealous lest their particular freeholds might be found escheated by this office; because in the time of rebellion these lords or chieftains, by their Irish cuttings and exactions took the profits of the whole country at their pleasure, and so might be said to be seized of all the country in demesne, when they were slain in rebellion. But some of the jury being learned in the law, informed the rest, that by the words (*in dominio suo et de feodo et jure*) not only lands in demesne or possession, but a signiory or chieftry may be understood, and thereupon they were content to put their seals to the inquisition, which being drawn and engrossed in parchment by one of the commissioners was presented unto them. By these two offices the

* This is flatly contradicted by the Annals of the Four Masters, which states, that in the April of 1601, Edmond O'Reilly, son of Moalmordha, son of John, son of Cathal, a superannuated, grey-headed old man, though very sound in his memory, and who was ready and active in his mind and senses to the time of his death, died, and was interred in the monastery of St. Francis in Cavan. And after his decease, his nephew, Eogan, son of Aodh Connallach, succeeded to the title.

treason and rebellion; and whatever were his private dispositions, he was obliged to keep some terms with the puritans, who whispered their suspicions of his being popishly inclined. As he had therefore published a proclamation in England, commanding all Jesuits and other priests, having orders from any foreign power, to depart from the kingdom, so, by a like proclamation, were the popish clergy of Ireland commanded to depart within a limited time, unless they consented to conform to the laws of the land. This ordinance was to be executed with equal lenity in both kingdoms; but in Ireland, instead of terrifying the delinquents, it enraged them. They, who exercised the most tyrannical dominion over the consciences of men, represented it as an horrid instance of implacable persecution. The chief governour and council were witnesses of the daring spirit of these recusants, and deemed it their peculiar duty to guard against their outrages; they determined to revive those statutes which were insulted with such confidence, and began by enjoining the magistrates and chief citizens of Dublin to repair to the established churches. Repeated admonitions and conferences served but to render them more obstinate. They were fined and committed to prison, when, in an instant, all the old English families of the Pale took the alarm, and boldly remonstrated against the severity of these proceedings. They denied the legality of the sentence, by which these severities were inflicted; and urged, that by the act of the second year of queen Elizabeth, the crime

of recusancy had its punishment ascertained; and that any extension of the penalty enacted by this statute was illegal and unconstitutional. Their remonstrance, and petition for the free exercise of religion, was presented to the council, by an unusual concourse, on the very day when intelligence was received of the gun-powder conspiracy, a circumstance which awakened the jealousy of the king's ministers, and made them suspect some concert between the conspirators of England and the popish party of Ireland. The chief petitioners were confined in the castle of Dublin, and Sir Patrick Barnevall, their great agent, was, by the king's command, sent in custody into England.

“ The confidence with which the recusants of the Pale had demanded the toleration of their religion, the assiduity, the apparent inveteracy and insolence of their party, together with a serious reflection on the influence of popish emissaries, and the disorders they had fomented in the late reign, tended naturally to keep the government in a state of perpetual alarm and suspicion; and gave weight to every rumour of insurrection and conspiracy.”*

How intoxicating are the noisome fumes of religious bigotry! Who are thus qualified ‘ an inveterate and insolent party?’ Are they a handful of dissenters. They are a whole catholic nation, both in cities, towns, and the whole country; a catholic parliament, peers and com-

* Leland, Vol. II. B. IV. c. vi. p. 420.

mons; and the great majority of the army catholics, contrasted with a few adventuring innovators from England and Scotland, who composed the ministry and offices of the crown, scarcely sixty of the natives having conformed to the new doctrines.* Would any man, possessed of sober reflection, stile their non-acquiescence to penalties, decreed by fraud, inflicted with violent acrimony, by a few insolent, upstart adventurers, of desperate fortune and character, thirsting for plunder and blood under the masque of reform, inveterate and insolent? Did any other protestant government ever attempt such odious and abominable tyranny on the persons, goods and conscience of a catholic nation? On the continent they durst not; for neighbouring powers would profit of their insanity, and the people themselves would emigrate; but the Irish, sequestered from the rest of the world, and confined by the sea, which ought to be their high road to all nations, as by the walls of a prison, became victims to the avaricious cruelty of insatiable, implacable tyrants. No wonder the Irish, and in general the English colonists, should be enraged at the insolent and contemptuous tyranny exercised on them under pretence of reform. They, who truly boasted, that their loyalty to England was registered in characters of blood. They, who considered themselves as a garrison, to maintain English power in Ireland, and who acted the part of one with constant bravery, even

* Geoghagan,

during all the wars of Elizabeth, the declared and persecuting enemy of their religion, should, for all their long services, be unexpectedly requited with persecution. They now had an experimental feeling of their error, when they stated 'that weakening the antient Irish would be strengthening them' (attainder of Shane O'Neil); for they did not share in the plunder of the north, which, on the contrary, was distributed among their inveterate enemies, the Puritans. Every day gave them new proof of the truths of O'Neill's prediction, "that if they did not give their helping hands to the salvation of Ireland, they would bring on themselves great ruin and calamity; and that the wars of Elizabeth were for the extirpation of the catholic faith."

In order to have a complete view of the grounds for the great persecution carried on against the loyal Irish catholics, as well as against their subjugated countrymen, during the reign of king James, who was not a persecutor on principle, we must endeavour to unravel the great political juggle, called the Gun-powder Plot. Little indeed need be added to what Dr. Curry has judiciously collected and arranged from grave cotemporary authorities, many of them protestants. How long has this ministerial imposture imposed on the majority of the people of these two islands! Annually commemorated, as a festive day of solemn thanksgiving, by sound of bell, cannon, and other demonstrations of joy, for the glorious deliverance of king and parliament from unreal danger. On the 5th of Novem-

ber, the pulpits, 'drums ecclesiastic,' resounded with the war-whoop against popery, expatiating on its supposed diabolical principles, in the bitterest language of invective, to excite in the protestant audience detestation and abhorrence of the catholic religion and people. The delusion is still cherished by malevolent policy, and has many believing dupes. Yet it could not, nor was not, nor could any such wicked contrivance be sanctioned by the catholic religion, nor permitted even for the best interest of that religion, not for its safety or preservation from utter ruin. That the juggle, for such indeed it shall be proved to have been, could have been the contrivance of the catholic body of England, much less of the Irish, who knew nothing of the matter, will be clear, from the absurdity, and also from the impossibility of the supposition. First, it is not credible, that a numerous description of any persuasion, especially christians, would confederate against their lawful king and parliament for so hellish a purpose. Secondly, it is not credible, that they would consent, unanimously, to blow up the catholic peers, composing nearly one half the upper house, together with some avowed, and more concealed catholics in the lower. Thirdly, if any numerous description of people were acquainted with so horrid a secret, could they have kept it a secret nearly two years, as stated in the histories of the times? Would none be tempted to blab the burden of his secret, from natural weakness and propensity, confidence of friendship, seduc-

tion of love, or giddiness of intoxication? Would no timorous or scrupulous mind be seized with remorse of conscience, and reveal the plot? Besides, what benefit could the English catholic body expect to derive from the atrocious treason, that would expose them to certain destruction, and general abhorrence. Scarcely one-tenth of the nation, and disarmed; the protestant, nintenths, armed, and possessed of all the towns and forts, and all the castles, with few exceptions, besides the army and navy. Would they have exposed themselves to this inevitable ruin and infamy, for the sake of murdering their lawful king, from whom they expected toleration and favour? That James made professions of protection and favour to the catholics, while he was intriguing with catholic powers, even with the pope, and the catholics of England and Ireland, to secure his succession to the throne of Great Britain, is a truth, of which sufficient proofs remain, acknowledged by all writers on that period.*

“Soon after his accession to the throne of England,† “a rumour was raised by the Puritans, that the king intended to grant a toleration to the papists;” which caused much discontent. And indeed the English catholics, confiding in his majesty’s former promises, did, in the year‡ 1604, present a petition for redress of some of their grievances; wherein, after many warm pro-

* See p. p. 132, 183. Vol. II.

† Sir Peter Pett, *Happy future State of Eng.* f. 225.

‡ Id. ib. Preface.

fessions of obedience and fidelity, they gave unquestionable proofs of their sincerity, "by undertaking for their clergy, whose loyalty was most suspected, that they should not only swear allegiance to his majesty and the state; but also that they should give in sufficient sureties, one or more, who should stand bound, **LIFE FOR LIFE**, for the performance of that allegiance."* About the same time, but with greater hopes of redress, "no less than seven hundred and fifty Puritan clergymen signed a petition to the king, and many more seemed willing to adhere to it." But the petitions of both parties were equally unsuccessful."

The powder-plot is stated to have commenced in the beginning of Lent, 1603; consequently, a little before James came to London to take possession of the throne; it is, therefore, contrary to reason, and every principle of human nature, to suppose, that the catholic body would thus wickedly and foolishly plan infernal villany, to blast well-founded hopes, and ensure certain infamy and ruin, and that the horrid secret should be so long concealed by such multitudes. 'Tis an argument of the weakness of the charge brought forward against the catholic body and religion by Hume, de Thou, and others, that they assign as the cause of this monstrous conspiracy, that was contrived in 1603, "the rejection of the catholic petition in 1604."† Besides

* Hume, &c.

† Many, and miserable are the shifts of the adverse writers on this subject, to find out a cause capable of provoking the

the rejection of the petition was no adequate provocation even to disaffection, much less to a deed that nothing could justify. In other respects, they were treated with more lenity in the beginning of this reign, than in the preceding: "From James's accession to the English throne, in 1603, to the fifth of November, 1605, no material* provocation had been given to the papists, either by the court, or the parliament. Hardly any new penal laws had been enacted; nor do we find that the old were more rigorously executed, in any respect, against them, than they

Roman catholics of that time to this horrible undertaking. The bishop of Lincoln, in the preface to his history of this plot, alledges for that purpose, "a protestation made by his majesty on the twelfth of February 1604, in the star-chamber, which was publicly declared afterwards to the lord chancellor, all the judges, bishops, and great officers of the state, viz. That he never intended to give any toleration to popery: and that he would spend the last drop of blood in his body before he would do it." But besides the manifest insufficiency of such provocation, the bishop of Lincoln unhappily forgot, that, according to Faux's and Winter's confessions, quoted and avowed by himself, the design of blowing up the parliament-house, was previous, by many months, to this protestation; and had been resolved upon in the beginning of Lent 1603; and even some time before the king's arrival in England.

* "'Tis true king James's council, suspecting that he would be too favourable to catholics, which they judged from his behaviour towards them in Scotland, put him upon issuing forth a severe proclamation for banishing all Jesuits, and seminary priests. But it afterwards appeared by his speech in parliament, in March 1604, that he had no design to proceed to extremities; or to use the same rigour against the party, as had been used in the late reign." Dod's Eccl. Hist. V. 2d. f. 326.

were against the protestant recusants themselves. On the contrary,* “ the king had made it appear, on a thousand occasions, that he was far from being an enemy to their religion:† and at that very juncture, had suspended the execution of former laws against them; had remitted the arrears of what they owed queen Elizabeth, for pecuniary penalties; nay, and had given into their hands what money of theirs, his due, was left in the exchequer.” In his speech, at the opening of the session, in 1604, he mentioned them in such a manner as shewed his intention to bespeak, not the severity, but the lenity and indulgence of parliament towards them. He told that parliament, that‡ “ the Roman catholic church was the mother church, defiled indeed with some infirmities; but that, as he would not wish a sick man’s death, so he would not have the papists punished in their bodies, for the errors of their minds. That, for his part, he was ever averse to persecution, as he hoped those of that profession had proofs, since his first coming. That, instead of increasing their burdens, he had always lightened them, as far as either time, occa-

* Rapin’s king James.—“ In the begining of his (king James’s) reign, he set at liberty all Jesuits and priests that were imprisoned, &c. and as for other rescusant Papists, &c. he freed them from all pecuniary mulcts, imposed upon them by the law; honoured many of them with knighthood; gave them free access to his court and presence; bestowed equal favours upon them with their opposites in profession.” God and the king, published by his majesty’s command, p. 20. 21.

† Sir Peter Pett. Hap. &c. f. 14.

‡ Rapin’s king James.

sion, or law, would permit. That, even then, he had been careful to revise, and consider deeply, upon the laws already made against them, that some overture might be made to the present parliament for clearing those laws by reason, in case they had been in times past further, or more rigorously extended, than the meaning of the laws was."

Moreover king James acquitted the catholic body of any knowlege or participation in the dark transactions; for, in his speech to parliament, immediately after the discovery, " he took great care,* says Rapin, to clear the catholic religion, and ascribed the plot to such of its professors only, as were imbued with the detestable king-killing and deposing doctrine; of whom he said, there were not many; and that it would be extremely injurious to accuse the catholics in general on that account." After which he prorogued the parliament.† So that, it evidently appeared, says the same historian, " that he caused them to meet for one day only, on purpose to make known his thoughts of the conspiracy, and the manner he would have it enquired into, that is to say, with respect to such only as were concerned in it."

* " In that speech is the following remarkable passage, among many others of the same kind. " For my part," says his majesty, " I would wish with those antient philosophers, that there were a chrystal window in my breast, wherein all people might see the secretest thoughts of my heart, for then might you all see no alteration in my mind for this accident," &c. Rap. king James.

† From the ninth of November till the twenty-first of January, for which prorogation he assigned a reason; which,

And he endeavoured to moderate the fury of protestants, wishing to decree fresh penalties, telling the parliament "that it might be possible, the zeal with which their hearts were burnt up, would make some of them, in their speeches, rashly to blame such as might be innocent of that attempt; but that he should be sorry, that any, being innocent, should receive blame, or harm, for the same." And that "that was not a place for every rash, and hair-brained fellow to propone new laws of his own invention; and that he wished the old Lacedemonian custom were revived; whereby, whoever came to propone a new law to the people, should present himself with a rope about his neck, that in case the law were not allowed, he should be hanged therewith."

This lenity to the generality of his catholic subjects astonished and disgusted the public, and nothing can account for such unpopular conduct, but his consciousness of their innocence. It is trifling with mankind, to say, like Bolingbroke and Osborne, that "fear for his person, and little notions of policy were the motives." Did he think them really guilty, what had he to fear from pro-

indeed, shews that he had this matter very little at heart; and even, I think, that he did not regard the conspiracy as real. "First," says he, "neither I nor my council, are at leisure to take order for the apprehension and tryal of these conspirators." He afterwards tells his parliament, "it may be, that I shall desire you at your next session, to take upon you the judgment of this crime, &c. that the same place, and persons, whom they (the conspirators) thought to destroy, may be the just avengers of their so unnatural a parricide," &c. id. ib.

secuting, with all legal severity, a poor disarmed handfull, assisted with the zealous concurrence of protestants of every denomination, to whose fiery tempers, in those days, their destruction would be a delicious repast. Had he not much more to apprehend from the public discontents raised by his lenity, and from the formidable, fanatical body of armed Puritans, who destroyed the king of Scotland his father, and afterwards his son Charles, " whose successful rebellions against the queen his mother, and whose former frequent attempts on his own crown and life were always remembered by him: some of these people had made themselves formidable in Scotland, long before, by this very species of treason; I mean the blowing up with gun-powder; and our English conspirators seem only to have copied their example; a treason, on the part of the Puritans, not designed or intended, only, and by a few obscure, and desperate men, as was the case of the popish conspirators in 1605; but actually, and fatally* executed on their king, his majesty's father, and by persons not less eminent than the earls Morton, Murray, Bothwell, and other ruling chiefs of that party. And yet it is on all hands agreed, that he afterwards ventured to

* " Their design was to blow him up with gun-powder, which had been actually laid for that purpose; but the king, and Sir Roger Aston, who lay in the same chamber with him, smelling the fire of a match, leaped out at the window into the garden, where he (the king) was murdered, after which the house immediately blew up: this account Sir Roger afterwards gave to king James. Saund. king James p. 48.

treat the puritans in England with a great deal of unjust, and impolitic rigor, through the whole course of his reign; and that, at the very beginning of it, he was not afraid to declare, even in that speech to parliament, wherein he makes such favourable mention of Roman catholics,* “that they were insufferable in any well-governed commonwealth.” By which severe censure† “he put them all out of his protection,” and set them at open defiance. On the other hand, we are told that‡ “the catholics were then so few, that they were not to be feared on any terms.”|| The number of protestants in England, in that reign, was generally reckoned greater, by ten to one, than that of the papists.§ Even in the year 1604, the latter were but as a handful to the former.” And among these protestants,¶ “the Puritans were thought to be more vigorous than any others; that is, (says my author) more ardent, quick, bold and resolute; and to have a great part of the best captains and soldiers on their side.” It

* Rapin. king James.

† Lord Bolingbroke’s remarks on the history of England.

‡ See B. of Lincoln’s Hist. Append.

§ See Sir Peter Pett. Hap. fut. &c. 145. Doctor Donne, dean of St. Paul’s, who flourished in the beginning of that reign, mentioning, in one of his satires, the low condition of the poets of his time, says,

“ Their state
Is poor, disarmed, like Papists not worth hate.”

|| Sir Peter Pett, ubi supra. The lieutenant of the tower told Sir Everard Digby in 1605, “that, to his knowledge, there were not then four thousand papists in all England.” B. of Lincoln’s hist. &c. Append. p. 246.

¶ See Sir Peter Pett ubi supra.

must surely appear a very strange sort of cowardice or policy in a prince, to proscribe and abuse the more powerful party of his supposed enemies, and, at the same time, to flatter and favour the weakest and most insignificant!" His lenity towards the feeble persecuted class must be attributed to their submissive demeanor, their general loyalty, their innocence of the plot, a circumstance unknown to the public, with which he was perfectly acquainted.

There are many weighty reasons to conclude, that artful Cecil, earl of Salisbury, tutored by his father, lord Burleigh, in all manner of court intrigue and political finesse, qualities denominated in common life, sharpening, swindling, trepanning, was the real father of this plot, worthy offspring of the Cecils! The king wished for some lucky occurrence to disengage him from his promises to the catholics, i. e. to foreign princes and his own subjects. To gain the good will of the puritans, whom he had disobliged, through any plausible pretext for renewing and enlarging the persecution against papists; and some expedient to work on the parliament, having experienced them very niggardly in their grants. The minister undertook to make him easy on these points, and framed the plot. "Cecil's chief and leading tool in this business seems to have been Tresham. This unhappy gentleman had too many temptations to this baseness, and too little integrity to resist them. He was not unknown to that minister; had been at some* private

* See Dodd's Ecclesiastical History, Vol II.

meetings with him on the affairs of the catholics; had more than once received his pardon* for a capital offence under his administration; and but a few hours before his death confessed, † that, “in consideration of that pardon, and to satisfy the lords of the council, he had given in examinations against Garnet which were not ‡ true.” While matters were preparing for the intended discovery of this plot, he § often visited Cecil at midnight: and when that business was compleated, and there was no further occasion for his services, he was, it is said, carried off by a strangury, in the tower; a disease seldom mortal, unless, perhaps, to those who happen to

“* Sir Everard Digby in one of his private letters from the tower, says, “I have not named any either living or dead that should hurt my Lord Salisbury.” (Cecil) B. of Lincoln’s Hist. Append.

“He was thought to have been concerned in the Earl of Essex’s and Sir Walter Raleigh’s plots. B. of Lincoln’s Hist. &c. p. 95. 220.

“† This he did in a letter to Cecil, to whom, he desired that such his retraction might be delivered after his death. *id. ib.* p. 177. The following short extract is all we have of that letter, viz. “That, whereas, since the king’s time, he had his pardon, and to satisfy the lords of the council, who heretofore examined him, he had accused Garnet; that now, he being weak, desired that his former examinations might be called in, because they were not true.” B. of Lincoln’s History of the Gun-powder, &c. p. 220.

“‡ Even now (says the earl of Salisbury at the tryal of Mr. Garnet) there is current throughout the town, a report of a retraction under Bate’s hand, of his accusation of Greenwell,” (another of the conspirators.) B. of Lincoln’s Hist. of the Gun-powder Treason. p. 221.

“§ Advocate for Conscience Liberty.”

be entrusted with a dangerous court-secret, and are, at the same time, at the absolute disposal of a wicked first minister.

The most authentic accounts of this conspiracy confirm this denouement of the mystery.

"Winter, one of the conspirators, declared, that Tresham only was suspected by them. This is also confessed by Saunderson* and others: nay, so great was this man's confidence and self-security, even after the plot was publicly known,† "that he hankered about the court, when all his fellow-conspirators were fled and gone." And as for the manner of his death in the tower, doctor Goodman, bishop of Gloucester, avers‡ that "he was carried off by poison;" alledging the testimony of William Butler, doctor of physic, by whom he was visited in his last sickness.

Against the genuineness of James's letter to Clement VIII., containing expressions of regard and respect for his holiness and the catholic church, and large promises of favour and toleration to his catholic subjects, 'tis urged, 1. That his secretary, Balmerino, was accused, and convicted on his own confession, of having surreptitiously obtained his majesty's hand to it, and that he was sentenced to die for it. But notwithstanding Elizabeth's resentful remonstrance on that occasion, instead of suffering, on James's accession shortly after, he was added to his privy

* King James.

† Baker, King James, p. 436. How. King James p. 880.

‡ Review of the Court of King James, MSS.

council, continuing in his majesty's favour for several years. It was the publication of the letter by cardinal Bellarmine, in answer to James's apology for the oath of allegiance, where he taxes him with inconstancy and a breach of promise towards his catholic subjects, induced him first to accuse him, in 1690, with a fault supposed to have been committed seven or eight years before.* Balmerino, unexpectedly questioned about it, at first honestly answered, that he sent it by his majesty's own commands;† until seeing the king knit his brow, either through fear or favour, he prudently took the blame on himself. After conviction he was pardoned, and restored to liberty, as was his son to his blood. Nevertheless, neither he or his family could ever forgive the prosecution. Bishop Burnet, an unexceptionable author in this case, states the collusion at Balmerino's trial, and the reality of the king's having sent that letter to the pope. "A letter," says he, "was also writ to the pope by him, (K. James) giving assurance of this (that he would connive at the papists) which, when it came to be published by Bellarmine, upon the prosecution of the recusants, after the discovery of the Gun-powder Plot, Balmerino did affirm, that he, out of zeal for the king's service, got his hand to it, having put it into the bundle of papers, that were signed in course, without the king's knowing any thing of it. Yet, when that discovery drew no other severity but the turning him out of his office, &c.

* Saunderson's king James.

† Id. ib.

all men believed that the king knew of the letter, and that the pretended confession of the secretary was only collusion to lay the jealousies of the king's favouring popery.* Had this letter to the pope contained nothing but a bare compliment, or declaration of James's lenity to the papists, without any further effect that was to result from it, it might, perhaps, have been easily counterfeited, and the secret kept; but, as its main tendency and purport was to fix a popish bishop of his own, as his majesty's agent with the pope, (and to request a cardinal's hat for him too) by whom his holiness might be truly informed of his majesty's conduct in that respect; and by whose means his majesty was likewise to receive the pope's opinion and directions, as occasion should happen; in this case, I say, such a fraud would never have been attempted, because it must have been quickly discovered."

2. That the pope published two briefs, forbidding the catholics to acknowledge any successor to Elizabeth, who would not grant a free exercise of their religion. This rather proves for the king's authenticated epistle to the pope, promising favor and indulgence; since the pope, and the English as well as Irish catholic, having received similar promises from him, the briefs were to promote his succession in opposition to English competitors, particularly lord Hertford, whose title was often cried up to tumults in the streets; he being, after the Stuarts, next heir to the crown.*

* Burnet's History of his own Times, f. 7,

† Lord Castlemain. Cath. Ap. p. 364.

That king James, both before and after his coming to England, shewed great indulgence to catholics, and on all private, and many public occasions, spoke favourably of their religion, Bolingbroke avows.* Which sentiments were not only well known and agreeable to pope Clement; but even queen Elizabeth was well acquainted with them.†

“Many concurring circumstances clearly evince, that this powder-plot was, originally, a contrivance of Cecil’s. The English catholics of that time accused him publicly,‡ “as the first mover of it, on purpose to root out all memory of their religion, by banishment, massacre, or some such insupportable pressure.” To which accusation§ he returned an answer so trifling and evasive, and at the same so peevishly abusive, that it really argued more guilt in him, than his silence would have done. This charge hath been since revived, and enforced, by several protestant writers, and particularly by the author of *A View of the English History*. King James himself used, jestingly, to call the fifth of Novem;

* Rem. on English hist.

† See ut supra, p. 132.

‡ “There was much ascribed,” says Saunderson, “to the king’s wisdom, in the discovery of this powder-treason; but the Jesuits had a note of Cecil’s name in their register; not against them, as a day-labourer, that carried some few stones, or sticks; but as the master-workman, whose foreign and domestic engineers wrought in this mine of discovery. And therefore was he calumniated with many contumelious papers and pasquils, dispersed, like Job’s messengers, one at the other’s heels.”

§ Saunderson’s King James.

ber, Cecil's holiday;* "as Lord Cobham and others protested to have heard from his own mouth." And Saunderston, when he mentions the statute, for the anniversary commemoration of it, as a thanksgiving to God for that deliverance,† says (what, surely, he never would have said, had the deliverance been real) "of which a man may hardly assure any long continuance;" and then tauntingly asks, "Are we bound more to obey it, than the statutes of God Almighty for the solemnity of several festivals, which all christians observe, and we only neglect?" Certain it is, that the fifth of November was not observed as an holiday in Ireland, for many years after. For when‡ a motion was made for that purpose, in the Irish House of Commons, an. 1615, it appears to have been so much disliked, that the

* Adv. for Consc. Liberty. Could his majesty be really serious, when, in his speech to parliament on this occasion, he tells them, "one thing, for my own part, have I cause to thank God in, that, if God, for our sins, had suffered their (the conspirators) wicked attempts to have prevailed, it should never have been spoken, or written in ages succeeding, that I had died ingloriously in an ale-house, a stew, or such vile place, but mine end should have been with the most honourable and best company," &c. B. of Lincoln's history, &c. p. 8. Is not this, if understood, as seriously spoken, a confession of some sort of obligation to the conspirators, for having laid the scene of their intended villiany in the place they did? Whereas, in truth, that very circumstance of their having designed to destroy his majesty in that place, together with that most honourable and best company, of all the lords and commons, is what enhances the guilt of their conspiracy, beyond all expression, and almost beyond conception.

† King James, p. 289.

‡ Carte's Life of the duke of Ormond, &c. Vol. I. f. 22.

king thought fit to have it laid aside; "not caring to do any thing," says Mr. Carte, "to sour or alienate the minds of any part of his subjects." But had the danger of that conspiracy to the king and parliament been then thought real, and not feigned for a certain ministerial purpose, what subject would have ventured to oppose so openly, an annual commemoration and thanksgiving, for their signal and happy deliverance?

Mr. Saunderson, after informing us that the English parliament had, on this occasion,* "given to the king three intire subsidies, and six fifteenths," (one of the greatest supplies, says lord Bolingbroke,† which had been ever granted in parliament) immediately adds, "and Cecil, for his good service, was made earl of Salisbury." Now, as this good service was neither his having discovered the conspiracy, nor his having explained the dark meaning of the letter to lord Mounteagle, (for the merit of the first was confessedly his lordship's, and that of the latter the king's only) it is plain, that Cecil's good service, in this instance, was nothing else but his having contrived a scheme, whereby his majesty had a plausible pretext given him for breaking his promise to the papists, and for passing new and severer laws against them; by which means, he, for that time, became intire master of the affections and purses of his puritan subjects. For in 1604,‡ "the parliament abso-

* Saunderson's History of King James.

† Remarks on Engl. Hist.

‡ Hume, &c.

about its meaning ; while he, like an artful courtier, gave his master the praise of the whole discovery." " 'Tis pleasant," says lord Castlemain,* " to observe, in most of the accounts of this business, how the letter appeared nonsense, forsooth, to Cecil ; and yet with what particular adulation he all along seemed to admire the king's exposition and comment upon it." In short, he that could have gathered from that letter, any thing like a popish conspiracy to blow up the king and parliament, must either have known, before-hand, all the preparations that were made for that horrid purpose ; or must have been really assisted by a supernatural power, (as his majesty was sillily supposed to have been) on that occasion.

" I do not pretend to infer any excuse, or alleviation of these conspirators guilt, from their not having been the first to contrive this treason ; or from their having been seduced by others into a resolution to execute it. Such a resolution, however entered into, cannot, I own, be sufficiently detested. All I contend for is, that this detestation should light only on its proper object, the mad enthusiasm of the few miscreants engaged in the design ; who, though they had originally planned it, could not, in the eye of impartial reason, have brought any real disgrace on the religion they professed ; as that religion utterly condemns such impiety ; and much less in the present case, when it has been made so manifest, that it was contrived and fomented by one of a quite different per-

* Cath. Apol. p. 410.

suasion. Indeed, if treason must be always characterized from the religious profession of the persons concerned in it, one would think, that such a distinction should be taken, rather from the religion of the principal* projector, than from that of the deluded tools and underlings employed by him; and consequently, that this gunpowder-plot ought rather to be called a puritan, than a popish conspiracy.

“ The principal ends of this Cecilian scheme being now fully answered, the malice of its contrivers seemed somewhat to abate: for the new† penal laws, enacted against Roman catholics on that account, were, soon after, tacitly dispensed with. Mr. Osborne, a cotemporary writer, expressly says,‡ that “ the king only suffered that parliament to meet, to sharpen laws against papists, that they might be the more obliged to him for stopping their execution.” And this appeared manifestly, not only from his lenity towards them in all the ensuing parts of his reign; but also from his proclamation§ of the tenth of June immediately following; wherein he declared,

* What Sir Edward Coke says, in his prosecution of Garnet, seems pretty applicable here. “ In such crimes, the author, or procurer, offendeth more than the actor, or executor; as may appear by God’s own judgment, given against the first sin in paradise, where the serpent had three punishments inflicted upon him, as the original plotter; the woman two, as being the immediate procurer; and Adam but one, as the party seduced.” Bp. of Linc. Hist. &c. p. 151.

† Sir Peter Pett’s Hap. fut. St. of Eng. f. 126.

‡ Works, p. 440.

§ Sir Peter Pett. Obligation of Oaths.

“ that he still desired to make it appear, through the whole course of his government, that he was far from accounting all his Roman catholic subjects disloyal: that the supreme dispensation of clemency, and moderation of the laws was, proper for him to use, whensoever he should find it reasonable: that mercy was praised in the Almighty, whose lieutenant on earth he was, as his highest attribute, and above all the rest of his works: and that, therefore, as aftertimes should give him trial of all men’s behaviour; so must all men expect that their own deserts must be the only measure of their future fortunes at his hands, one way or another.” Now, what greater lenity than this, could Roman catholic subjects have expected from a protestant prince, even though there never had been a suspicion, that any of their persuasion had formed this, or any other, conspiracy against him?

“ Nor was his majesty’s* ensuing kindness to these people less in effect, than what he had so graciously promised in that proclamation.† “ In the year 1607, a petition was moved in parliament for a more rigorous execution of the laws

* “ Upon the discovery of the gunpowder-plot, there was a general prosecution of all papists set on foot; but king James was very uneasy at it, and did immediately order all that prosecution to be let fall; I have the minutes of the council-board of the year 1606, which are full of orders to discharge, and transport priests, sometimes ten in a day. From thence to his dying day, he continued always writing and talking against popery, but acting for it.” *Barnet’s Hist. of his own Times*, f. 9.

† Hume,

against papists, and an abatement towards protestant non-conformists; but both these points were equally unacceptable to his majesty; and he sent orders to the house to proceed no farther in that matter.”* “In 1610, the regard he shewed for Roman catholics; the access and credit they had at court, even to their being admitted to the most important offices, and into the ministry itself, begot strange fears in the minds of the people.”† In 1614, “upon the house of commons representing to him, among other grievances, that of the increase of popish recusants, and of his admitting into his council, popish lords, publickly known to be such; he was so much offended, that he dissolved the parliament, and committed to prison several members, who had spoken most freely on that occasion.”‡ In 1618, “the people again complained, that the number of papists increased daily, and that even one of the two secretaries of state was a papist.”§ It was counted even shameful, about that time, to put the laws in force against popish recusants; and such of the magistrates as officiously did so, were branded with the odious name of puritans.¶ In

* Rapin's K. James.

† Id. ib.

‡ Id. ib.

§ Sir Giles Calvert, whom Wilson (K. James p. 79) calls not only a papist, but an Hispaniolized papist.

¶ Sir Peter Pett's Hap. fut. St. of Eng. f. 146.

¶ Id. Oblig. of Oaths, f. 97. “The number of priests and popish recusants, enlarged out of duress by K. James, (if we may believe Gondamar's letters from hence to the king of Spain; or the letter of Serica, that king's secretary, from

1622, the king told his council, in a set speech, "that the Roman catholics in England had sustained great and intolerable surcharges, imposed upon their goods, bodies and consciences, during queen Elizabeth's reign, of which they hoped to be relieved in his: that he had maturely considered their penury, and calamities: that they were in the number of his faithful subjects: and, therefore, that he did, from thence-forth, take them all into his protection: permitting them the liberty, and intire exercise of their religion, without any inquisition, process or molestation, from that day forward." In short, both his majesty and privy-council were, in 1623, so thoroughly reconciled to these people; so fearless of their principles, or rather so confident in them, that, in the treaty of marriage between prince Charles, and the Infanta of Spain, they solemnly bound themselves by oath,* in case that treaty succeeded, not only that the new penal laws against papists should not be put in force; but also, that there should be a perpetual tole-

Madrid, July 7th, 1622, to Mr. Cottington, was no less than four thousand." See Sir Peter Pett, *Obl. of Oaths*, f. 145. The same writer tells us, "that there were in offices, and places of trust, in 1624, eleven popish lords, and eighteen popish knights, besides many other persons of quality, who were in places of charge and trust in their several countries." *Ib.* f. 90. 100.

* *Id.* *ib.* "Among other members of the privy-council, who signed these articles, says Sir Peter Pett, were these great names. viz. Abbot, archb. of Canterbury; John, bishop of Lincoln, keeper of the great-seal; Lionel, E. of Middlesex, lord high treasurer of England; Edwd. E. of Worcester, lord privy-seal; Lewis, duke of Richmond and Lenox, lord

ration of their religion, in all the three kingdoms; and that his majesty would use his utmost endeavours, to induce the parliament to revoke, and abrogate whatever laws of that kind were formerly enacted against them.

“ King James had received his education from the puritans, and was always, speculatively at least, attached to their principles: yet it is well known, that notwithstanding this bias in their favour, he never forgave them the troubles, which they had formerly excited against him, in Scotland; and that he persecuted their persons in England, to the last hour of his life. But this king had no such cause of prepossession in favour of papists. On the contrary, their different imputed treasons against queen Elizabeth should, equally at least, have prejudiced him against them: and this gunpowder treason against himself, which, in guilt and horror, exceeded all former treasons, would, surely, if real, have increased that prejudice to a proportionable degree of hatred, and persecutiou of their persons.*

high steward of the household; Henry, visc. Mandeville, lord president of the council; James, marquess of Hamilton; James, earl of Carlisle; Lancelot, bishop of Winchester; Oliver, visc. Grandison, Arthur Chichester, baron of Belfast, lord treasurer of Ireland; Sir Thomas Esmond, knight, treasurer of the household, &c. The articles afterwards condescended to in the French match, were almost verbatim the same with those formerly agreed to, in the Spanish treaty.” *Hap. fut. St. of Eng. f. 209.*

* Yet, on the contrary, it seems to have increased his tenderness for them: for in his speech to parliament, on the discovery, he expressly says, among other kind things, “ and therefore we justly confess, that many papists, laying their

What then, but his consciousness, or conviction, that the papists were not, originally, concerned in this conspiracy, could have induced so vindictive a prince to treat these people with so much lenity, and kindness, through the whole course of his government, notwithstanding the frequent and earnest remonstrances of his parliament on that account, which he always suppressed, and sometimes punished?"*

The forgery of popish plots was a common state engine in the reign of Bess.† The same was repeated, with improvements, at different periods since the restoration; as shall appear in the sequel of this history.

To force men by pains and penalties to embrace even the truth, is odious tyranny; because

only trust upon Christ and his merits, may be saved; detesting in that point, and thinking that cruelty of the puritans worthy of fire, that will allow no salvation to any papist." Bp. of Lincoln's hist. of the gunpowder treason. Upon which Rapin observes, "That the people considered with grief and astonishment, the tender regard the king expressed for the catholics in general—they observed also the difference the king put between the Romish religion, and that of the puritans: the first hindered not its professors from being looked upon as faithful subjects; but the last was not to be tolerated in any well-governed commonwealth, as he expressed himself in his former speech. In this here, (on purpose to turn the hatred of the good protestants from the papists, upon the puritans,) he was not contented with detesting an opinion indifferent in itself, &c. but thought it worthy of fire, &c. whilst he calls the doctrine of transubstantiation, a meer school question." King James, p. 281.

* Essay towards a new History of the Gunpowder Treason.

† Doctor Carleton, bishop of Chichester, plainly tells us, "that it was thought, at that time, (queen Elizabeth's reign)

truth will appear as error to one unacquainted with, or prepossessed against it, without the aid of other means of information and conviction, than violence and punishment. To attempt arbitrary dominion over men's opinions, is not only tyrannical, but foolish and absurd; because 'tis a power not granted by heaven to any mortal; because no man is able to exercise such discretionary authority over his own opinions. Opinion cannot be changed but by the preponderance of motives from reason, authority, or both. Inclination, certainly, may influence the determination of the mind for or against an opinion, but cannot absolutely decide, unassisted by instruction. Much, consequently, depends, for the success of any mission, on the morals and manners of the missionaries, as well as on their learning and abilities, to merit the esteem and good-will of the people, as auxiliary means to operate conviction on their minds by their arguments. If the new doctrine pretended to be that of pure reformed christianity, it should come recommended with purity of life, suavity of manners, charity,

that some cunning was practised, to feel men's affections; and that counterfeit letters were written in the name of the Scots' queen, and of some fugitives known traitors to the state; which letters might be left in the houses of recusants." Such was the similarity of the methods of discovering plots in that, and the following reign! "And that spies were sent abroad to gather rumours, and catch suspicions. Diverse (adds he) were drawn into these snares, among the rest, Henry, earl of Northumberland; and his son, Phillip, earl of Arundel, was commanded to keep his house; and his wife was committed to Sir Thomas Shirly, to be kept, &c." Thank. Rememb. p. 68.

lutely refused him a supply, and the smallest demand, however requisite, appeared in their eyes unreasonable and exorbitant." But in 1605, says Sir Peter Pett,* "after the discovery of this popish gunpowder-plot, the parliament's belief of it fired the zeal of their supplies, and made the money burn in their pockets, and pass speedily into the exchequer." And thus, that great protestant, "who (says How)† had more, or not much inferior knowledge of this plot, than some that were put to death for concealing it," did, like the devil, first tempt these miscreants to the sin, and afterwards punish them for committing it.

For further proof of this, if further proof be necessary, let us consider the circumstances of the letter‡ to lord Mounteagle, before-mentioned; the pretended design of which was, to

* Happy future state of England. f. 194. This writer, touching upon the objection of this plot's being a contrivance of Cecil's, does not deny, or disprove the fact, but rather apologizes for it, by saying, "That the papists in such a case, would have no cause to complain of the minister, for bringing them into this decoy of a plot, to serve his own purpose; since, adds he, according to some of their own casuists, 'tis lawful, for a good end, to ensnare men to acts of sin, so that, if a protestant statesman had inveigled them into a plot, and then hanged them for it, his politics had squared exactly with their morals." ib. f. 241. If such popish casuists there be, (which I cannot believe) yet Cecil's politics in this respect, were not, surely, the less odious, and diabolical, on that account.

† King James.

‡ The letter was as follows. "My Lord, out of the love I bear to some of your friends, I have a care of your pre-

prevent his lordship's going to parliament on the fifth of November, the day appointed for the mischief. This letter was supposed to have been sent by one of the conspirators, and was delivered to his lordship full ten days before the fifth of November. - The scheme of so early a warning did, indeed, well answer the minister's Machiavilian purpose; by affording him time, as it were, to pry into, and gradually clear up, this intricate affair; and was, therefore, deemed proper, to give some appearance of likelihood and reality to the plot. And thus we find the farce was acted: for although Cecil had got that letter on the twenty-sixth of October; yet he pretended to be so much puzzled about its meaning, and was so long in finding it out, that the cellars under the parliament house were not searched until the fourth of November following

servation: therefore, I would advise you, as you tender your life, to devise some excuse to shift off your attendance at this parliament; for God and man have concurred to punish the wickedness of this time. And think not slightly of this advertisement, but retire yourself into your country, where you may expect the event in safety; for, though there be no appearance of any stir, yet I say they shall receive a terrible blow this parliament; and yet they shall not see who hurt them. This counsel is not to be contemned, because it may do you good, and can do you no harm, for the danger is past, so soon as you have burnt the letter, and I hope God will give you grace to make good use of it, to whose holy protection I commend you." Saund. K. James p. 323. Upon which letter, I shall only observe, that, as it does not caution lord Mounteagle against going to parliament particularly on the first day of its meeting (when the mischief was to have been done) but only in general dissuades his

at midnight;* which was but a few hours before the mischief was to have been perpetrated. But, surely, the giving such early intimation of the design, on any account whatever, would have argued the greatest infatuation and stupidity in persons really intending to execute it; as it manifestly tended to its discovery, and prevention; which accordingly happened, by means of it: whereas, if we suppose that the mischief was really intended, and that friendship to lord Mounteagle was the true motive of sending that letter, one day's, nay one hour's precaution, would have been sufficient for the purpose, and much more consistent with the characters, and designs of these conspirators.

But that was not all: after lord Mounteagle had delivered this important letter to Cecil, (which he did† immediately after he had read it) that minister was in no haste to communicate it to his majesty; but kept it quietly by him for several days, until he returned to London from a hunting-match; when his majesty‡ instantly

attendance during that session; his lordship might for shew, form's sake, or curiosity, have gone to parliament on the first day, notwithstanding the warning contained in this letter: from whence it follows, that it was not sent by any of the conspirators, or any friend of lord Mounteagle's; for either of these would have certainly cautioned his lordship against going to the parliament house, particularly on the fifth of November, which, they knew, was the day agreed upon for the perpetration of their design.

* Saunders, K. James, p. 322, Baker, &c.

† B. of Lincoln, &c.

‡ Ibidem.

discovered gun-powder in it, to the great amazement of all his courtiers, who, until then forthwith, were totally ignorant of its meaning.* And for his Majesty's divine spirit in interpreting it," says Saunderson, "the sums already mentioned were given by parliament." But, in truth, it was an easy matter for his majesty, without the help of a divine spirit, to interpret a letter, which (if Welwood† rightly informs us) "was contrived by himself."

"There is not, perhaps, in this whole mystery of iniquity, any one circumstance that has been so artfully and industriously perplexed, as the writing and sending this letter to lord Mount-eagle: and this must have proceeded from an apprehension in the writer, that the knowledge of that particular would have led to the knowledge of other things, which it was thought necessary to bury in darkness and oblivion. The conspirators themselves, upon the first rumour of such a letter being sent, absolutely disclaimed,‡ and forswore it to each other; nor did any of them, after their conviction, confess, or claim it; tho' such confession might have been then useful, or, at

* Saunders, K. James.

† Memoirs. Dr. Carleton, bishop of Chichester, tells us very gravely, that Cecil, the lord admiral, the earls of Worcester and Northampton, upon consultation had on this letter, resolved to shew it to his majesty, for the expectation and experience they had of his majesty's fortunate judgment in clearing and solving of obscure riddles and doubtful mysteries." Thankful Rememb. &c. p. 196. B. of Lincoln's History of this Plot.

‡ Saund. K. James, p. 320.

least, could not have been hurtful to them. For, in the supposition that there was originally a real intention of blowing up the king and parliament, this letter-writer, at the same time that he meant only to preserve lord Mounteagle, was the happy instrument of preserving his majesty, the royal family, and the state, from impending destruction: nor could his private friendship to lord Mounteagle, (joined as it was with the public deliverance accidentally wrought by it) have, in any degree, enhanced his crime: on the contrary, the manifest risque which he thereby ran of a discovery, seemed to carry with it some title to favour or mercy. There was, therefore, no reason for such impenetrable secrecy in this respect, on the part of those conspirators who were taken alive: and as for those who were killed in the pursuit, it is plain, from previous circumstances, that they had no manner of concern in it: for although they had heard on Sunday* (about nine days before the public discovery) that the letter was in Cecil's hands, and that their plot was thereby discovered, yet they attempted not to make their escape,† until

* B. of Lincoln's Hist. p. 57. The discovery by the letter, was made to Cecil and others of the council, on Saturday, and not communicated to the king till Friday following in the afternoon. Bishop of Lincoln's History of the Plot, p. 28, 29. Nor were the cellars under the parliament house examined, until the Monday after that, id ib. p. 33.

† Id. ib. p. 58. Hume p. 361. Nay, "Winter and Catesby, upon getting intelligence of this letter, resolved to see further as yet, and would needs abide the uttermost trial." Id. ib.

Tuesday se'nnight following; which, doubtless, they would immediately have done, had they been conscious of having written, or sent that letter: for, in that case, the known truth, and certainty of the report and discovery, would have instantly determined their flight.* And although such of the conspirators as were taken alive, did freely acknowledge both their own, and their associates' guilt, nevertheless there appears not any glimpse of intelligence from that quarter concerning this letter; nor do we meet with the least hint or ground for surmise in any of their declarations, which were full and particular, that it came from them. Should it be suggested, that this letter might have been written or^d sent by some benevolent person, not engaged in the plot; who, either through confidence, or by chance, had got notice of the design; I would fain know, what possible motive could have with-held such benevolent and unengaged person from warning the king and the parliament, as well as lord Mounteagle, against that execrable design? Upon the whole, besides that these conspirators had all from the beginning bound themselves by solemn oaths never to reveal their plot, "which,"

* Especially that of Guido Faux, who was to have perpetrated the horrid deed; and who was taken on the spot, and almost in the fact; this man, I say, in particular, the other conspirators would, for their own sakes, have caused to abscond; because he was fully acquainted with their design, their persons, and places of abode; nor were they afterwards apprehended, or even sought after, until he had particularly informed against them. See Hume, &c.

says Mr. Hume, "they religiously kept for the space of near a year and a half;" the great but studied obscurity of the letter itself, and its not giving the least hint of the particular day on which the mischief was to happen, is a plain indication that it never was dictated by real friendship; nor intended as a caution against real mischief. For then some clearness, not a total obscurity, would have been aimed at: and this letter was deemed so dark and unintelligible, that his majesty was thought to have had the assistance of a divine spirit to come at its meaning.

We must, therefore, look elsewhere for an explanation of the mystery of this letter. Many writers of that time, protestants as well as papists, have given broad hints, that Cecil* himself was either privy to, or the writer of it. Osborn† expressly says, that "it was a neat device of his." And, indeed, if so, he could have had no other motive for concealing it so artfully, but the conscious fear of being suspected to have carried his

* The forfeiture of the six counties in the province of Ulster in Ireland, on account of a supposed secret conspiracy of the noblemen and gentlemen thereof, which was ever believed to have been a contrivance of Cecil's, was brought about by the very same means; "Anno 1607, says the bishop of Meath, was a providential discovery of another rebellion in Ireland, the Lord Chichester being deputy: the discoverer not being willing to appear, a letter from him not subscribed, was superscribed to Sir William Usher, clerk of the council, and dropt in the council chamber, then in the castle of Dublin; in which was mentioned a design for seizing that castle, murdering the deputy, &c." (This was all the proof.) Borl. hist. of the Irish rebellion. Pref.

† Works, p. 437.

device much further than the letter itself. This consciousness of Cecil's seems evidently to appear from his shuffling and contradictory behaviour concerning it. For when the letter was first shewn to him by Mounteagle,* "he greatly encouraged, and commended his lordship's discretion; telling him, that it put him in mind of diverse advertisements sent from beyond seas, wherewith he had acquainted, as well the king himself, as diverse of his privy counsellors, concerning some business the papists were in, both at home and abroad, making preparations for some combinations amongst them against this parliament time;" and yet, but a few days afterwards, when he himself communicated it to the king, who apprehended danger from it, "he thought good," say the same historians,† "to dissemble his thoughts; insisting to his majesty, that there was no just cause of such his apprehension; that the letter seemed to him to have been dictated by some madman; and, in short, turned the whole matter into a jest:" yet this he did in such a manner as made it answer his purpose of discovering the plot,‡ "by leading the king in his conjectures

* B. of Chichester's Thank. Rememb. p. 194. B. of Lincoln's Hist. of this plot.

† Id ib. De Thou.

‡ Hume. Cecil knew, that the finding of the gunpowder under the parliament house (where he was before apprised it was laid) would clearly prove the justness of the king's construction of the letter; and therefore cunningly affected to differ from his majesty in that construction; that the subsequent discovery might appear to be the sole effect of the king's wonderful sagacity and penetration.

humility, meekness, patience, forgiveness of injuries, among its votaries and teachers. It should be introduced by christian means, and not by sacrilege, robbery, theft, murder, and such infernal means as would disgrace a Turk or a heathen. If it came from government, its administration should be distinguished by wisdom, moderation, equity, and a paternal care of every good institution, beneficial to the public, favourable to learning, piety, morality, industry, and security for person and property. But the new faith was forced on the Island of Saints, accompanied with so detestable a train of sins, persecution, robbery, sacrilege, corruption, as would discredit truth itself. It came from a government, rapacious, tyrannical, plundering, and hypocritical. Fines, imprisonments, torture, and the gallows, were their arguments to prove the divinity of their faith. Plundering churches, and stripping them bare of all their valuables and ornaments, in their zeal for reforming, rather deforming the church. The Irish must believe the great zeal of the puritans for the good of their souls, while a star-chamber inquisition was established in the castle, against the damnable heresy of Irish property; where it was decreed a state crime, for an Irish catholic to keep possession of his own estate, or to refuse sanctioning the robberies of the crown with perjury.

Besides prepossession in favor of the old, a double prejudice existed against the innovation in religion. Its novelty, and the country whence it was obtruded; on a people, taught by

sad experience to expect no intentional kindness or blessing from that quarter. The ministers, employed for their conversion, were described by protestant cotemporaries, ignorant, profligate, rapacious, careless of attempting what they were incapable of performing, the conversion of the Irish to the worship of pope petticoat; unacquainted with the language of Ireland, and destitute of every other qualification. Had Christianity been introduced in such bad company, it had not succeeded as it has done; and there would be ample apology for resisting it. Add to this, the havock made of libraries, antiquities, &c. the destruction of bards, antiquarians, of seminaries of learning, schools of physic, and you will find the pretended civiliziers and reformers of the Sacred Island to be arrant Goths and Vandals, destroyers of literature, of every thing useful and ornamental to this long suffering nation.

We have it from English historians, who relate, that "abbeyes falling into hands who understood no farther than the estates, their libraries were miserably disposed of. The books, instead of being removed to royal libraries, to those of cathedrals, or the universities, were frequently thrown into the grantees; as things of slender consideration. Now these men oftentimes proved a very ill protection for learning and antiquity. Their avarice was sometimes so mean, and their ignorance so undistinguishing, that when the covers were somewhat rich, and would yield a little, they pulled them off, threw away

the books, or turned them to waste paper.*” Thus many noble libraries were destroyed. Nay so great a spoil was made in the republic of learning, that John Bale, sometime bishop of Ossery in Ireland, a man remarkably averse to popery, and the monastic institution, gives this lamentable account of what he himself was an eye-witness to. “ I know a merchant, who shall at this time be nameless, that bought the contents of two noble libraries for forty shillings a-piece; a shame it is to be spoken. This stuff has been occupied instead of grey-paper by the space of more than these ten years. A prodigious example this is, and to be abhorred of all men, who love their nation as they should do. Yea, what may bring our realm to more shame, than to have it noised abroad, that we are depisers of learning? I judge this to be true, and utter it with heaviness, that neither the Britons under the Romans and Saxons, nor yet the English people under the Danes and Normans, had ever such damage of their learned monuments as we have seen in our time.”

“ But Bale is not alone in this charge; Fuller breaks out into a passionate declamation upon this occasion, and complains “ that all arts and sciences fell under the common calamity. How many admirable manuscripts of the fathers, schoolmen and commentators were destroyed by this means? What number of historians of all ages and countries? The holy scriptures themselves, as much as these gossellers pretended to

* Collier. Eccl. Hist. Vol. 2. b. 1. p. 19,

regard them, underwent the fate of the rest. If a book had a cross on't, it was condemned for popery; and those with lines and circles were interpreted the black art, and destroyed for conjuring. And thus, as Fuller goes on, divinity was prophaned, mathematics suffered for corresponding with evil spirits, physic was maimed, and riot committed on the law itself."

"Luxury, oppression, and hatred to religion, had over-run the higher rank of the people, and countenanced the reformers, merely to rob the church."* When the famous Angervillian library, a choice collection of books, first compiled by Angerville bishop of Durham, was destroyed: when the two noble libraries of Cobham, bishop of Winchester, and that of duke Humphrey, underwent the same fate. "These books were many of them plated with gold and silver, and curiously embossed. This, as far as we guess, was the superstition which destroyed them. Here avarice had a very thin disguise, and the courtiers discovered of what spirit they were, to a very remarkable degree. Merton College had almost a cart load of manuscripts carried off, and thrown away to the most scandalous uses. This was a strange inquisition upon sense and reason, and shewed, that they intended to seize the superstitious foundations, and reform them to nothing."†

"The open lewdness in which many lived, without shame and remorse, gave great occasion

* Echard. Hist. Engl. Vol. 2. p. 312.

† Collier. Eccl. Hist.

to their adversaries to say, they were in the right to assert justification without works, since they were, as to every good-work, reprobate: when their gross and insatiable scrambling after the goods and wealth that had been dedicated with good designs—without applying any part of it to the promoting of the gospel, the instruction of youth, and the relieving the poor, made all people conclude that it was for robbery, and not for reformation, that their zeal made them so active: when the irregular and immoral lives of many of the professors of the gospel gave their enemies great advantage to say, they ran away from confession, penance, fasting and prayer, only that they might be under no restraint, but indulge themselves in a licentious and dissolute course of life: when, by these things that were but too visible in some of the more eminent among them, the people were much alienated from them; and as much as they were formerly against popery, they grew to have kinder thoughts of it, and to look on all the changes that had been made, as designs to enrich some vicious courtiers, and to let in an inundation of vice and wickedness upon the nation.”*

“ A commission being granted to reform the university of Oxford, the visitors were so fond of novelty, that they ridiculed the university degrees, and discouraged the exercises. They called the universities the seats for blockheads, and the stews of the whore of Babylon; and the

* Burnet. Hist. Reform. Vol. III. p. 216. Heylin. Hist. Reform. p. 217.

schools had commonly no better name, than the devil's chapel; when, in fine, sacrilegious avarice ravenously invaded church livings, colleges, chanteries, hospitals, and places dedicated to the poor, as things superstitious; ambition and emulation among the nobility, presumption and disobedience among the common people, grew so extravagant and insolent, that England seemed to be in a downright frenzy.* Thus do English historians describe the havock made even in England at this period.

The methods, adopted to reform the Irish, would provoke ridicule, if the horrors and anxiety, occasioned by the tragic persecutors, did not effectually quench all sensations of mirth. First, a bible and common-prayer book were sent to the Irish, in a strange tongue; and "sorry curates," ignorant and profligate, to catechize and exhort them in a language they did not understand. They could not better reply to their own accusations of the catholics, for having divine service read in an unknown tongue, only they made the matter worse. A smattering of Latin was familiar to a great portion of the Irish at that time, whereas very few out of the Pale understood English. What did these ingenious deformers of religion, to repair their first mistake? As an amendment of their first blunder, they committed a second: they sent Irish bibles and books of common-prayer, in the hands of those, who could neither read nor understand a

* Collier. Camden. Introd. Annals Eliz.

word in them. How could it be expected, that a spirited, sensible, and religious people, would accept such a deformed scheme of religion, which all its concomitants presented to them as irreligion. Is it to sacrilege and robbery they would look for a reform of the church? to rapacity, fraud, and profligacy, for religious and moral instruction? Accordingly, their perplexity, in not being able to find people, who would preach and pray in Irish, demonstrates the general rejection of the new system; which compelled them to look to the followers of a different belief in Scotland, who would consent, for lucre, to read a liturgy and creed materially different from what they believed. This also confirms the authority on which Geoghagan wrote, that sixty natives had not conformed at that time. The persecution for compelling conformity, very naturally encreased the detestation in which the Anglican system was held.

It cannot but appear evident, to any dispassionate observer of these things, that it was not the conversion of the Irish to any system of religion they sought for, but insurrection and confiscation; in which being disappointed, by the wonderful patience of the sufferers, they had recourse to their usual expedients of sham plots, in order to take the lives and properties of catholics by fraud and perjury: The catholics of English descent now learn to their cost, that the overthrow of the ancient Irish did not "strengthen them;" but weakened, and left them exposed to similar hardships as they assisted to inflict on

their ancient countrymen. O'Neil's prediction they felt now fully verified, "That if they did not lend their helping hands, they would bring great ruin and calamity on themselves." While the Northerners were formidable, the Pale was managed with some delicacy; but after their downfall, it was no longer of that importance, and persecution burst on them at once like a torrent.

James, under colour of Cecil's powder-plot, sent orders to his Irish deputy, Chichester, an arch puritan, to minister the oath of supremacy to the catholic lawyers and justices of the peace; and strictly to execute the laws against the recusants (the catholics). Accordingly,* "of sixteen aldermen and citizens of Dublin, summoned before the privy council, nine were censured in the castle chamber; and six of the aldermen were fined, each in one hundred pounds; and the other three, in fifty pounds each; and they were all committed prisoners to the castle, during the pleasure of the court. It was at the same time ordered, that none of the citizens should bear offices until they had conformed. For which reason the cities and towns were obliged to take up with very unfit persons for magistrates. "In the year 1614, Edward O'Molownie, an alderman of Dublin, was chosen to be mayor of that city, but because he would not go to church, nor take the oath of supremacy, he was laid aside, and Richard Foster, a young

* *Analecta Sacra.*

man, was permitted to take the office upon him. And when, on the accustomed day, he was presented at the exchequer bar, sir William Methold, lord chief baron, in his speech on that occasion, said among other things, "that this mayor had leapt a salmon-leap, for that he saw many grave and grey-headed men there standing about him, whose turn was to have been mayors before him; but he said the cause of their not being mayors, in plain terms was, because they would not take the oath of supremacy, which he was sorry for."* This conduct of Chichester was so pleasing to James, that he wrote to him, "he thought both the order he had taken for reformation, and the punishment he had inflicted upon some of the aldermen of Dublin, and certain others whom his letters mention, for their contempt, to be not only just, but necessary. And that he conceived hope, that many, by such means, will be brought to conformity (in religion) who perhaps hereafter will find cause to give thanks to God, and him, for being drawn by so gentle a constraint to their own good."†

"Hard as this treatment of the catholic laity was, amidst "the calmest and most universal peace that was ever known in Ireland," that of their clergy was still more rigorous. To omit many other instances, the case of Robert Lawler deserves particular notice. When this poor man was thrown into prison for exercising the function

* Desid. Cur. Hib. Vol. II. p. 284-5.

† Desid. Cur. Hib. I. p. 465.

of a Roman catholic priest, he,* in order to remove all suspicion of his maintaining, or teaching any seditious doctrines, made the following confession, before the lord deputy and council, and afterwards confirmed it on oath, viz. "That he did acknowledge his sovereign king James to be his lawful chief, and supreme governor, in causes as well ecclesiastical as civil; that he was bound in conscience to obey him, in all said causes; and that neither the pope, nor any other foreign prelate, or potentate, had power to control the king in any causes ecclesiastical, or civil, within that kingdom, or in any other of his majesty's dominions." Yet this extreme condescension could not, it seems, prevent his condemnation. The only pretence for this severity was, his having denied privately to some of his friends, who visited him in prison, that he had ever made such confession as was derogatory to the spiritual authority of the Roman pontiff; for, he told them, "that he had not acknowledged that the king was supreme governor in spiritual causes, but in ecclesiastical." Whether this distinction, calculated for the private satisfaction of his friends, was well or ill founded, I shall not take upon me to determine; but certain it is, that it cancelled all the merit of his public confession.

"Cnohor O'Duana, bishop of Down and Connor, was apprehended in July, 1612, and committed to the castle of Dublin, wherein he

* Sir J. Davis's Reports in fine.

lived in continual restraint many years; but having at last escaped out of prison, and having been afterwards taken, he was hanged, drawn and quartered, on the 1st of February. His chaplain, Bryan Carrulan, John O'Onan, Donoghwo M'Reddy, and John Luneas, priests, suffered also, in Ireland in this reign."*

The dissection of property in the north, and religious persecution, having failed of their desired effect, an insurrection and confiscation, rapacity and religious intolerance seized on the old expedient of plot-making. A fac simile of the discovery of the powder-plot, most probably contrived by the same artist,† was acted upon in Dublin. An anonymous letter was dropt in the castle, giving notice of an intended insurrection in the North, by O'Neil and O'Donnel, in substance as follows: "That he was called into company by some popish gentlemen, who, after administering an oath of secrecy, declared their purpose to murder or poison the deputy, to cut off Sir Oliver Lambert, to pick up one by one the rest of the officers of state, to oblige the small dispersed garrisons by hunger to submit, or to

* Theatre of Cath. and Prot. Religion.

† "Cecil was an adept in framing fictitious plots, and has left instructions behind him to succeeding ministers, when and how to make use of them against catholics. The original of these instructions, in Cecil's own hand-writing, was formerly in the keeping of the infamous judge Bradshaw, by whom it was shewn to Sir William Percival, who communicated it to a gentleman of great worth, who died anno 1697, and left it among other papers of remarks upon the times." Dodd's Ecclesiast. Hist. vol. iii. fol. 196.

penn them up as sheep to their shambles. That the castle of Dublin, being neither manned nor victualled, they held as their own, that the towns were for them, the country with them, the great ones abroad and in the North prepared to answer the first alarm, that the powerful men in the West are assured by their agents to be ready as soon as the state is in disorder. That the catholic king had promised, and the Jesuits from the pope had warranted men and means to second the first stirs, and royally to protect all their actions. That as soon as the state is dissolved, and the king's sword in their hands, they will elect a governor, chancellor and council, dispatch letters to king (James I.) trusting to his unwillingness to embark in such a war, and to his facility to pardon, would grant their own conditions of peace and government, with toleration of religion: that if the king listen not to their motions, then that the many days spent in England in debates and preparations would give them time enough to breathe, fortify and furnish the maritime coasts; and at leisure call to their aid the Spanish forces from all parts." 'The writer of the letter declares, " That he interposed some doubts on them, which they readily answered, and he pretended to them to consent to further their projects, and that he took the method of this letter, to give notice of their designs, though he refused to betray his friends, in the mean time he would use his best endeavours to hinder any further practices." And he concludes, " That if they did not desist, though he revered the

mass and catholic religion equal to the devoutest of them, yet he would make the leaders of that dance know, that he preferred his country's good, before their busy and ambitious humours."

No proofs of such conspiracy have ever appeared, notwithstanding king James boasted in a proclamation,* that he and his deputy were possessed of such documents as would make it as clear as the sun. The circumstances of the times, and the state of parties, strip the fiction of all credibility. The north was utterly wasted and depopulated, by famine, fire and sword, and by charitable transportations.† It could not be, that in the short interval of four years, from the peace to the confiscation, the remnant would be able to repair the mortal breaches, made on the population, agriculture, and manufactures of the province, or recover spirits enough to meditate a new war. Mountjoy, who, by methods not human, brought them to that abject state, must be a competent judge of the natural and moral effects of his exterminating discipline, refutes the idea. He declared, that he would bring the province of Ulster to be the most obedient part of Ireland; and that if the Spaniards should land, after he brought them to subjection, they would not join, but resist the invaders. For this opinion he assigns a very strong physical reason, "that the invaders cannot raise the dead;" meaning,

* This proclamation will be found in the succeeding pages.

† After the treaty of 1603, numbers of the northerns were removed into the Pale from the wasted countries, and great numbers conveyed to the Low countries.

that he would exterminate the great majority of the people, with fire, sword and famine: for the performance of which charitable operation, he demanded less than twelve months, and he had two years and a half to complete it; consequently, it was the opinion of that general, with which every impartial examiner will agree, that the broken and dispirited remains of the once powerful North, would most gladly enjoy repose, and not madly risque, under every disadvantage, the loss of all. The treaty of 1603 was more favourable than they could expect, from their forlorn situation in the last winter of the war, owing to the death of queen Elizabeth, and the eagerness of Mountjoy to have the honour of finishing the war. The survivors were, in fact, possessed of more lands than they held before; more than they had hands to cultivate. O'Neil was old, and wearied of war. He did not want penetration, to observe the vast alteration in the relative situation of the contending parties. When at war with Elizabeth, he was at war only with England. In Ireland he had respectable allies: from Spain and the pope he had big promises, and some actual supplies: from Scotland he had secret encouragement, and some succours in men and ammunition. All was now reversed. Spain and the pope dropt the connexion; the two kingdoms of Great Britain were now united under one monarch; and Ireland was so completely subjected, that the viceroy could, by its internal resources, crush the enfeebled Northerners, had they madly attempted an impotent rising. No traces

of any preparation, or proofs of combination, could be found. But the ruling party eagerly longed for the destruction of catholicity, and of its Milesian adherents, to gratify two violent appetites for plunder and religious intolerance. There was, 'tis true, an unrepealed act of attainder, passed in the second year of Elizabeth, confiscating the North. But then there was a treaty of peace, since then concluded and ratified, which rendered that act of no effect. Nothing could so commodiously liberate them; from the odious burden of keeping faith with the Irish, as to father a plot on them.

The contradictory accounts, left us of this sham plot, are a sufficient conviction of its authors. The first, taken from Dr. Henry Jones, bishop of Meath, scout-master general to Cromwell's army, runs thus: "Anno 1607, there was a providential discovery of another rebellion in Ireland, the lord Chichester being deputy; the discoverer not being willing to appear, a letter from him, not subscribed, was superscribed to Sir William Usher, clerk of the council, and dropt in the council-chamber, then held in the castle of Dublin; in which was mentioned a design for seizing the castle, and murdering the deputy, with a general revolt, and dependance on Spanish forces; and this also for religion: for particulars whereof, adds the bishop, I refer to that letter, dated March the 19th, 1607."* From hence it appears, that the

* Preface to Borlase's History of the Irish Rebellion.

first discovery of this conspiracy arose from the anonymous letter above-mentioned.

“ Doctor Carlton, bishop of Chichester, a contemporary writer, has left us a prolix but different account of the discovery of this conspiracy, in which there is no mention made of this anonymous letter. The substance of his account is what follows.

“ Montgomery,* bishop of Derry,” says he, “ suspected, or was told, that Tirone had gotten into his hands the greatest part of the lands of his bishoprick; which he intended, in a lawful course, to recover; and finding there was no man could give him better light or knowledge of these things than O’Cahane (who was great with Tirone), made use of such means that he (O’Cahane) came to him of his own accord, and told him, he could help him to the knowledge of what he sought, but that he was afraid of Tirone; yet he engaged to reveal all that he knew of that matter, provided the bishop would promise to save him from Tirone’s violence, and not deliver him into England, which the bishop having promised, he brought O’Cahane to the council in Dublin, to take his confession there. Upon this, processes were sent to Tirone to warn him to come up to Dublin, at an appointed time, to answer the suit of the lord bishop of Derry. There was no other intention but in a peaceable way, to bring the suit to a trial; for the council then knew nothing of the plot. But Tirone

* Thankful Remembrance, &c. p. 168.

having entered into a new conspiracy, of which O'Cahane knew, began to suspect, when he was served with a process to answer the suit, that this was but a plot to draw him in, and that surely the treason was revealed by O'Cahane. Upon this bare suspicion, Tirone with his confederates fled out of Ireland, and lost all those lands in the North." Dr. Carlton adds, "that he had this account of the discovery of the conspiracy from the bishop of Derry himself. The reader will please to recollect that, according to the bishop of Meath's story, the first discovery of this plot was made to the council by an anonymous letter dropt in the council-chamber; but, by the bishop of Derry's account, the actual flight of the earls and their confederates, out of the kingdom, was what alone excited in them the first suspicion of the conspiracy.

"But let us reflect a moment on the obvious incredibility of this latter bishop's tale. O'Cahane, a prime catholic gentleman, possessed of a very large estate, enters into a conspiracy with Tirone against the protestant religion and government of Ireland; and yet, at the same time, he comes "of his own accord," to a protestant bishop, to put him in a way to deprive the person who was to be his chief leader in that conspiracy, of a great part of his estate, the loss of which must have proportionably lessened that leader's power to carry it on; and this he does for no other recompence, but a promise from the bishop that he will save him from Tirone's violence; that is to say, from the violence of a man, with whom he

was not only great, but also joined in a plot against the government. Now supposing that O'Cahane only knew that Tirone was engaged in such a conspiracy, without being himself an accomplice in it, would he not have thought such knowledge of his guilt a much better security and defence against Tirone's violence, (as it put him absolutely in his power) than any promise of protection from the bishop could be? But as it is supposed, that he was actually concerned with Tirone in that conspiracy, what can be more absurd than to imagine, that he would, of his own accord, and without any suitable recompence, have thus provoked his leader to seek revenge, and his own pardon by revealing his (O'Cahane's) guilt? For it is not even pretended that O'Cahane had any thoughts, all this while, of discovering this plot; and how he could have expected to carry it on in concert with Tirone, after having thus provoked and injured him, is, indeed, a mystery not easily unravelled.*

"Sir John Temple's account of this conspiracy is much shorter than that of either of these bishops, but equally incoherent and absurd. "In this state," says he, "the kingdom conti-

* "Incredible as things are, yet in order to carry on the farce thoroughly, and to garble up O'Cahane's great estate among the rest, O'Cahane himself was afterwards seized as one of the conspirators, and forfeited like the other gentlemen of Ulster. The king and council, however, discovered some tenderness with respect to him, before his actual seizure. For they desired the deputy "to bring him to conformity, by shaking the rod over him; but if that would not

nued under some indifferent terms of peace and tranquillity, until the earl of Tirone took up new thoughts of rising into arms. And into this rebellious design he drew the whole province of Ulster, then entirely at his devotion. But his plot failed; and finding himself not able to get together any considerable forces, he, with the principal of his adherents, quitting the kingdom, fled into Spain."

"The contradiction of Tirone's having drawn the whole province of Ulster into his rebellious designs, and at the same time, his not being able to get together any considerable forces, is too glaring to need any further animadversion.

"The traditional account of this forged conspiracy is adopted and thus related by that learned English divine James Anderson, D. D. in his book, entitled *Royal Genealogies*, and dedicated to his royal highness the late prince of Wales, p. 786. &c. published anno 1736: "Artful (secretary) Cecil employed one St. Lawrence to entrap the earls of Tirone and Tyrconnel, the lord of Delvin, and other Irish chiefs into a sham plot, which had no evidence but his. But those chiefs being basely informed, that witnesses were to be hired against them, foolishly

do, his majesty was pleased, that he should use his discretion in drawing down some force upon him." This letter is dated January 24th, 1607. And in another letter of the 20th of November following, they say, but for O'Cahane, whom it seemeth you have imprisoned, we like well of the course you have taken with him. And we allow also very well of your placing his son in the college."—*Desiderata Curiosa Hibern.* p. 508-13.

fled * from Dublin, and so taking guilt upon them, they were declared rebels, and six entire counties in Ulster were at once forfeited to the crown, which was what their enemies wanted."†

To all these reasons may be added one, of itself decisive of the question, that Tyrone was so well beset with spies, even in his own house, that he could do nothing without the knowledge of government. Tyrone was at this time so closely looked after, that he was heard to exclaim, "That he had so many eyes watching over him, as that he could not drink a full carouse of sack, but the state was advertized thereof within a few hours."‡

Here, indeed, was a real plot; but it was a plot against the persons, property, and religion of the northern Irish. Wherefore, then, the precipitate flight of the earls? Several motives determined them to escape with their lives. The reader will have perceived, in the preceding part of this history, that O'Neil constantly complained of plots and attempts on his life. That his apprehensions were not groundless, must appear, from the treacherous methods employed by the invaders to trepan the natives to destruction. By invitations to banquets, to

* Tirone fled privately into Normandy, in 1607, thence to Flanders, and then to Rome; where he lived on the pope's allowance, became blind, and died in the year 1616. His son was, some years after, found strangled in his bed at Brussels; and so ended his race." Borlase's *Reduct. of Ireland*, p. 184.

† Curry's *Hist. Rev. Civil Wars*.

‡ Davis *hist. relat.* p. 117.

negotiations, and after partaking their hospitality, destroying or ruining them, as in the case of O'Reilly of Cavan, M'Mahon of Monaghan, and O'Byrne of Wicklow. That long experience had taught them, that no reliance could be placed on the honor or public faith of their enemies, with whom it was a settled maxim, that no faith should be kept with Irishmen. When Tyrone, on the protection of the state, ventured to Dublin, to confer with deputy Sussex, part of the council were for detaining him, in violation of the public faith; when the majority were against the breach thereof, allowing him to return home, they were sharply reprimanded by Elizabeth, for suffering him to slip out of their hands, from a vain scruple of the public faith.* They must have considered this sham, as a serious plot against their lives and fortunes; and where such vast property was in question, unprincipled plunderers would not fail to suborn false witness, ready to swear any thing, without boggling at perjury.

Whoever considers the notorious duplicity of James, would think him capable of abusing the confidence of these people in his fair professions, on account of the secret encouragement, and assistance he sent them, during the Elizabethian wars. He might have sent them verbal or written notice, to get out of the way, untill the storm was abated, and the falsehood of their anonymous accusation sifted to the bottom, when they would

* Leland.

be recalled and reinstated. Among many instances of his hypocrisy, one towards his favorite Carr, raised by him to the earldom of Somerset, may suffice. " Somerset was in his presence at the time the officer of justice came to apprehend him ; and boldly reprehended that minister's presumption for daring to arrest a peer of the realm before the king. But James being informed of the cause, said with a smile, ' Nay, nay, you must go ; for if Coke should send for myself, I must comply.' He then embraced him at parting, begged he would return immediately, and assured him he could not live without his company : yet he had no sooner turned his back, than he exclaimed, ' Go, and the devil go with thee, I shall never see thy face again.' "* As for O'Neil's not publishing any justification of himself on the continent, his silence would only prove the sterility of the subject ; anonymous charges deserving no reply. It was time enough for him to publish his defence, when specific charges were brought against him. The best refutation he could then bring forward would be a history of his own times, a task for which few men at eighty, worn out by long and severe military service, under the pressure of which he saw numbers of his antagonists and commanders sink successively, would have inclination or ability. In any point of view, silent acquiescence, in a charge, however false, of over zeal for the catholic religion, was more suitable to the situation of an old man, subsisting

* Goldsmith. James I.

on the pope's allowance, than a printed disavowal, unnecessary on the continent, and useless in his own country, where the plunder was too vast to be surrendered to innocence, and where Milesian blood and property were such enormous offences, as no merit, honor or loyalty could expiate.

The plantation was retarded and increased by a real insurrection. Its cause may be very different from the "pride of youth, and the barbarous prepossessions of an Irish chieftain," which Leland assigns. Witness to the contrivance to dispossess his compatriots, conscious of their innocence, O'Dogherty might easily suppose, that British and Scots could be found to inhabit the peninsula between lough Swilly and lough Foyle. In arms, in 1608, the youthful knight, Sir Cahir O'Dogherty, proprietor of Inisoeen and the adjacent territory, placed his dependence. By stratagem he gained possession of Culmore, by force of Derry. The garrisons he put to the sword; Derry burned. His successes drew the deputy to the support of Wingfield, who commanded in Ulster. More courageous than cautious, he attacked the lord deputy, when a musket bullet terminated his life, and an insurrection which lasted five months. His territory was given to the deputy Chichester.

Now, by a double fraud, a specious pretext was found, to gratify the passion of James for planting Scotch and English, together with new modes of faith, in Ireland; to displant the ancient natives, from whose monarchs he boasted his descent. The first robbery was, the disinheriting

the tribes of their hereditary estate, and vesting the same, as an inheritance, in a few families, that there might be colour for confiscating the whole. Now he gratified the greedy expectants of Irish plunder, determined enemies of church and state, the puritans, whom yet he hated. But, with the detestable policy of the Stuarts, fatal in the end to themselves, he sacrificed his friends to the fear of his enemies. This was among the capital errors of his reign, which brought about the downfall of his son Charles, and of the monarchy with him; as shall appear in the course of this history. Meanwhile, James set about dissecting the North, expelling the antient proprietors without pity or remorse.

One observation more, before we view the royal anatomists. I cannot believe that the amount of the plunder or confiscation, as they chuse to call it, was limited to 520,000, or 530,000 acres, for two reasons. First, six counties are mentioned as confiscated, and those the largest of the eight counties of Ulster, Cavan, Monaghan, Fermanagh, Tyrone, Donegal, Derry. Ulster, being the fourth part of Ireland, contains upwards of three million acres; now allowing too much, one million, for mountains, lakes, bogs, marshes, there would remain two million acres; of which the six confiscated counties contained six parts out of seven at least. (Tyrone had not then been divided in two, as at present; the county of Antrim then forming a part of Tyrone, O'Neil's territory.) Secondly, by the computation of English writers, and their

Irish partizans, the confiscation of Desmond exceeded that of Ulster, by near 40,000 acres; a thing utterly incredible. Were that the case, that the proprietors of a lesser territory, in the north, waged war with England and her Irish allies; not only incomparably more formidable than the Desmonian insurrection, but the severest and most destructive ever waged by Elizabeth, making this island often the grave of her best troops, often on the eve of extinguishing English dominion here, did not some fatality or misconduct interfere, the inequality of the Ultonians and Momonians, for virtue and valor, would be set up too high. If they confiscated no more, they must have left one million of good ground, besides half a million of every sort, in the possession of the natives, which they were far from doing.

In the scheme of this plantation, "it was resolved, that the persons to whom lands were assigned, should be either new undertakers from Great Britain, and especially from Scotland, where it was supposed, that the inhabitants might be readily tempted to remove, by a short and easy passage, into a country more fertile than their own; or servitors, as they were called, that is, men who had for some time served in Ireland, either in military or civil offices: or old Irish chieftains and inhabitants. In the last sort were included even those Irish who had engaged in the rebellion of Tirone, and still harboured their secret discontents. To gain them, if possible, by favour and lenity, they were treated with particular indulgence. Their under-tenants and ser-

vants were allowed to be of their own country and religion; and while all the other planters were obliged to take the oath of supremacy, they were tacitly exempted.* The servitors were allowed to take their tenants either from Ireland or Britain, so that no recusants were admitted; the British undertakers were confined to entertain English and Scottish only.

“The original English adventurers, on their first settlement in Ireland, were captivated by the fair appearance of the plain and open districts. Here they erected their castles and habitations; and forced the old natives to the woods and mountains, their natural fortresses: thither they drove their preys, there they kept themselves unknown, living by the milk of their kine, without husbandry or tillage; there they encreased to infinite

* Leland is here in direct opposition to truth. From Sir Thomas Philips’ account, which is unquestionable, it appears, “that the fundamental ground of this plantation was the avoiding of natives, and planting only with British.” Harris’s *Hibern.* fol. 131.—“It is true,” says the same Sir Thomas, “that, after a prescribed number of freeholders and leaseholders were settled upon town-land, and rents therein set down, they might let the remainder to natives for lives, so as they were conformable in religion, and for the favor, to double their rents.” MSS. fol. 108.—For which reason it probably was, that of about two hundred undertakers in the whole plantation of these six escheated counties, there were not, in the year 1608, more than about ten or twelve Irish.—See Pinnar’s List, Harris’s *Hibern.* fol. 127.

The O’Farrells of the county of Longford, in their remonstrance, November 10th, 1641, set forth, among other grievances, “that the restraint of purchase, in the mere Irish, of lands in the escheated counties, and the taint and blemish of them and their posterities, did more discontent them, than

numbers by promiscuous generation.† But now, the northern Irish were destined to the most open and accessible parts of their country. To the British adventurers were assigned places of the greatest strength and command; to the servitors, stations of most danger, and greatest advantage to the service of the crown: but as this appeared a peculiar hardship, they were allowed guards and entertainment, until the country should be quietly and completely planted.

“ The lands to be planted were divided in three different portions; the greatest to consist of two thousand English acres, the least of one thousand, and the middle of fifteen hundred. One half of the escheated lands, in each county, was assigned to the smallest, the other moiety divided between the other proportions: and the general distributions being thus ascertained, to prevent all disputes between the undertakers, their settlements in the respective districts were to be determined by lot.

“ Estates were assigned to all, to be held of them and their heirs: the undertakers of two thousand acres were to hold of the king in capite; those of fifteen hundred, by knight's service; those of a thousand, in common socage. The first were to build a castle and enclose a strong

that plantation-rule; for that they were brought to that exigence of poverty, in these late times, that they must be sellers and not buyers of land.”—*Borl. Ir. Rebel.* fol. 53, note.

† What a calumny this, on a people distinguished for chastity; and most jealous of the nuptial bed!

court-yard, or bawn, as it was called, within four years; the second, to finish an house and bawn within two years; and the third to enclose a bawn; for even this rude species of fortification was accounted no inconsiderable defence against the incursions of an Irish enemy. The first were to plant upon their lands, within three years, forty-eight able men of English or Scottish birth, to be reduced to twenty families; to keep a demesne of six hundred acres in their own hands, to have four fee-farmers on a hundred and twenty acres each; six lease-holders, each on one hundred acres; and on the rest eight families of husbandmen, artificers, and cottagers. The others were under the like obligations, proportionably. All were, for five years after the date of their patents, to reside upon their lands, either in person, or by such agents as should be approved by the state; and to keep a sufficient quantity of arms for defence. The British and servitors were not to alienate their lands to mere Irish, or to demise any portions of them to such persons as should refuse to take the oaths to government: they were to let them at determined rents, and for no less term than twenty-one years, or three lives: their tenant's houses were to be built after the English fashion, and united together in towns or villages. They had power to erect manours, to hold court-baron, and to create tenures. The old natives, whose estates were granted in fee-simple, to be held in socage, were allowed the like priviledges. They were enjoined to set their lands at certain rents,

and for the like terms as the other undertakers, to take no Irish exactions from their inferiour tenants, and to oblige them to forsake their old Scythian custom of wandering with their cattle from place to place for pasture, or creaghting, as they called it; to dwell in towns, and conform to the English manner of tillage and husbandry. An annual rent from all the lands was reserved to the crown, for every sixty English acres, six shillings and eight pence from the British undertakers, ten shillings from servitors, and thirteen shillings and four pence from Irish natives. But for two years they were exempt from such payment; except the natives, who were not subject to the charge of transportation.

The corporation of London had large grants in the county of Derry, or London-Derry (for that was the new title both of the county and its capital city.) They engaged to expend twenty thousand pounds on the plantation, to build the cities of Derry and Colerain, and stipulated for such priviledges as might make their settlements convenient and respectable. As a competent force was necessary to protect this infant plantation; the king, to support the charge, or at least with this pretence, instituted the order of Baronets, an hereditary dignity, to be conferred on a number not exceeding two hundred: each of whom, on passing his patent, was to pay into the exchequer such a sum as would maintain thirty men in Ulster, for three years, at eight pence daily pay.

“ But scarcely had the lands been allotted to

the different patentees, when considerable portions were reclaimed by the clergy as their rightful property.* And so far had the estates of the northern bishopricks been embarrassed, both by the usurpations of the Irish lords, and the claims of patentees, that they scarcely afforded a competent, much less an honourable provision for men of worth and learning; while the state of the parochial clergy was still more deplorable. Most of the northern churches had been either destroyed in the late wars, or fallen to ruin: the benefices were small, and either shamefully kept by the bishops in the way of commendam or sequestration, or filled with ministers as scandalous

* “ They were reclaimed by the title of Termon, Corbe, and Herenach lands. In the northern parts of Ireland, which had not been completely reduced, and where the pope still disposed of clerical dignities, the antient ecclesiastical institutions remained unaltered. And these terms were strange and inexplicable to English government. Jurors in the several inquisitions were required to give such information about them as they could obtain. Sir John Davis endeavoured to investigate the nature of the lands called Termon, and of the persons styled Corbes and Herenachs; and it appears from his letter to lord Salisbury, among the MSS. of Trinity College, Dublin, that he thought them peculiar to the mere Irish countries of all other parts of Christendom. The learned doctor James Usher employed his abilities on this occasion with more success, investigated their nature and origin, and demonstrated the similitude of the antient ecclesiastical institutions of Ireland, to those of other countries of Europe. The original of his tract, on this subject, still remains in the same repository of papers relative to Irish affairs.

“ The following is the substance of it, omitting the learned authorities produced by the author,

as their income. The wretched flock was totally abandoned; and for many years divine service had not been used in any parish church of Ulster, except in cities or great towns. To remedy these abuses, and to make some proper provision for the instruction of a people immersed in lamentable ignorance; the king ordained, that all ecclesiastical lands should be restored to their respective sees and churches; and that all lands should be deemed ecclesiastical, from which bishops had in former times received rents or pensions: that compositions should be made with the patentees for the site of cathedral churches, the residences of bishops and dignitaries, and other church-

“In old times it was provided, that whoever founded a church should endow it with certain lands, for the maintenance of divine worship therein. The founder was to deliver to the bishop an instrument of such donation before the church could be dedicated: and from thenceforward the ordering and disposing of these lands pertained entirely to the bishop.

“In consequence of such donation these lands became exempt from all charges of temporal lords, were entitled to the right of sanctuary and other immunities. Hence they were called *Tearmuin* or *Termon*, that is privileged lands. They were occupied by laymen, both villains and free tenants, who husbanded the same, both for the behoof of themselves and families, and likewise for the use of the church: and were called ecclesiastical tenants. *Servi et homines ecclesiastici*.

“To receive and to apply the rent, paid by such tenants, it was thought necessary that every church should have its *œconomus* or archdeacon, called by the Irish *eireinneach* or *herenach*. “I mean,” saith the author, “the antient archidiaconi, who, in degree, were inferior to the presbyteri, not the archdeacons of higher rank that exercise jurisdiction under the bishop; and to that former kind of archidiaconi de

lands, which were not intended to be conveyed to them; who were to receive equivalents, if they compounded freely: else, to be deprived of their patents, as the king was deceived in his grant; and the possessions restored to the church.

“To provide for the inferiour clergy, the bishops were obliged to resign all their impropriations, and relinquish the tythes paid them out of parishes, to the respective incumbents, for which ample recompence was made out of the king’s lands. Every proportion allotted to undertakers was made a parish, with a parochial church to each. The incumbents, besides their

I refer the herenachs; who therefore were so many in number in every diocese, and, for ought I can learn, were wont to be admitted *ad primam tonsuram, et diaconatum*, and not promoted *ad presbyterium*.”

“A number of these Herenachs were again superintended by an officer of greater dignity, called Corbe, Corbah, or Comhurba; whom the author supposes to be the same with chorepiscopus or archpresbyter. The Irish clergy called him, in Latin, *plebanus, quia plebi ecclesiasticæ matricis ecclesiæ præfuit*. The name comhurba, he observes, occurs frequently in the early annals of Ireland. But it is no impeachment of the learned prelate’s accuracy to observe, that in these annals the word is taken evidently in another sense, and signifies the prelate himself, or successor of the first Irish saint who presided in his diocese. Thus the comhurba of Saint Patrick means the then archbishop of Armagh, the comhurba of Kiaran, the bishop of Clonmacnoise. And so the word is explained by Colgan in his *Trias-Thaumaturga*.

The herenachs, under the direction and care of the corbes, or chorepiscopi, resided on the termon lands, and distributed their profits to the bishop, the inferiour clergy, to the repairs of churches, and the maintenance of hospitality, in the proportion established in each diocese.

tythes and duties, had glebe-lands assigned to them of sixty, ninety, or one hundred and twenty acres, according to the extent of their parishes. To provide for a succession of worthy pastors, free-schools were endowed in the principal towns, and considerable grants of lands conferred on the university of Dublin, together with the advowson of six parochial churches, three of the largest, and three of the middle proportion, in each county.”*

Such was the general scheme of this iniquitous northern plantation, formed for the avowed purpose of excluding the old inhabitants, and introducing a new religion; in which not even a labourer would be allowed to dwell, unless he took the oath of supremacy.† Too sad, too dismal to dwell upon, is the reflection, of the multitude thus forcibly dispossessed, deprived of even the means of subsistence in the lowest employment of their new lords and masters, unless they abjured what their conscience required them to obey. Fatally true was the prophetic reply of O'Molloy, “Since you have come among us we will not fail of martyrs.” At the moment when the crowns of England, of Scotland, and of Ireland, centered in James, instead of admitting Ireland to an equal participation of rights and privileges with England, he “dispeopled one-fourth of the kingdom, and doled out a large extent of the most ancient inheritances in Europe (or the universe) to strangers, adventurers, and oppres-

* Leland. Hist. Ireland, B. IV. c. vi. p. 430, &c.

† Cox.

sors."* Full of the fiery spirit of the Scottish reformers, these enthusiastic followers of Calvin viewed the natives, who remained firm to the faith of their forefathers, as the imps of Anti-christ; while the Irish, who saw their progress marked with violence and rapine, considered them as the children of perdition, the blind ministers of Satan. During the three succeeding reigns, this colony took an active part in the tragic affairs which disfigure the Irish historic page. The small number of the Irish, who acquiesced in the religious innovations of James, tacitly or actually, may be estimated from the small portion of lands allotted to them, which is preserved by Sir Richard Cox, in the following statement of the general distribution.

To the Londoners and other Undertakers	209,800
The Bishops Mensall Lands	3,413
The Bishops Termon and Erenachs	72,780
The College of Dublin	5,600
For Free Schools	2,700
To Incumbents for Glebe	18,000
The Old Glebes	1,208
To Deans and Prebends	1,473
To Servitors and Natives	116,330
The Impropropriations and Abbey Lands	21,552
The Old Patentees and Forts	38,214
To New Coporations	8,887
Restored to M'Guire	5,980
Restored to several Irish	1,458

In the further progress of history, the Milesians no longer appear as principal figures, or leading characters, on the blood-stained theatre

* Plowden.

of this unfortunate island. Their inhuman enemies swept away millions, with fire, sword, famine and pestilence. Now they divide the spoils, and plant the thorn of religious difference in the heart of Ireland, as a lasting plague, to divide and waste the people. Now they demolish and lay waste the venerable institutions of antiquity, for civil and religious purposes; for education, and improvement of learning. Dreadful was the havock of books, especially in the Phenian and Gaelic languages. The destroyers were eager to abolish the language, and every vestige and memorial of antiquity, reflecting honour on this once renowned and esteemed people. They wished to substitute calumny, lies and defamation, for historical truth; conscious, that their abominable crimes here needed such palliation, however unavailing. Let us exterminate them, say they, and blot out their names from the face of the earth, that the contrast of the former and present state of Ireland may not confound us with shame and reproach. Let us extinguish their bards, lest they record, in plaintive notes, their mournful calamities, occasioned by our excessive cruelty, and long unabating inhumanity. Vain are all your endeavours. You must first destroy all the libraries of Europe, in which the bright fame of Inisfail is treasured among the illustrious ranks of the holy and learned, of the sages and heroes, who were eminent benefactors to mankind. You must do more: you have still to destroy innumerable monuments, in temples, altars, sacred offices, consecrated to their memory. Nay, if you

covered Europe with ruins, as you have Ireland, the very ruins, and names of places, would retain their memory. St. Gall, in Switzerland; Malmesbury, from Mailduphsburg, &c. Hosts of evidence could be brought from all Europe, and arrayed against your defamatory libels. Even from your own country, we could cite venerable Bede, the two Alfreds, Oswald, Nennius, of Briton, and the thousands of Anglo-Saxons, Franks, Germans, &c. who resorted to this island, as to a school of morality and religion, a mart of literature and the most civilizing arts.

If the Irish be what their defamers report, from their insolent libels, incessantly published on the fallen people of Ireland, and through their means circulated through Europe, their coming to the island of saints was a dreadful visitation indeed, worse than a flight of locusts, a troop of wolves; yea, worse than the plague itself. What was it, but the visitation of Satan to the garden of Eden, to corrupt the innocence, and destroy the happiness, of that blissful abode?

A Milesian might plead powerfully, on their own accounts of the actual state of Ireland, in favour of the antient institutions. Under them we were a very different people from what you describe us now. Our learning, religion, moral virtues, were extolled by the consenting voice of Europe. The comforts and substantial wealth of this island were attested by cotemporary writers; abundant proofs of which may be seen in the latter pages of the first volume.

The eulogy of Burke on English institutions;

a real caricature, since they are no way applicable to a nation of changelings like them. The most servile of slaves under the Tudors; the most stubborn and rebellious under the Stuarts; and the most inexorable tyrants to the best of them. From popery to schism under Harry; to heresy under Edward; to popery again under Mary; to heresy again under Elizabeth. To claim a constant succession of inheritance, to their institutions, after all their transmutations in faith and civil polity, was arrant nonsense, and justified the severe censure passed by Mirabeau on the book, "That it was the incomprehensible farrago of a madman." To the civil and religious institutes of the Milesians it applies, as if they sat for the picture.

"A spirit of innovation is generally the result of a selfish temper and confined views. People will not look forward to posterity, who never look backward to their ancestors. Besides, the people of England well know, that the idea of inheritance furnishes a sure principle of conservation, and a sure principle of transmission; without at all excluding a principle of improvement. It leaves acquisition free; but it secures what it acquires. Whatever advantages are obtained by a state proceeding on these maxims, are locked fast as in a sort of family settlement; grasped as in a kind of mortmain for ever. By a constitutional policy, working after the pattern of nature, we receive, we hold, we transmit our government and our privileges, in the same manner in which we enjoy and transmit our property

and our lives. The institutions of policy, the goods of fortune, the gifts of Providence, are handed down, to us and from us, in the same course and order. Our political system is placed in a just correspondence and symmetry with the order of the world, and with the mode of existence decreed to a permanent body composed of transitory parts; wherein, by the disposition of a stupendous wisdom, moulding together the great mysterious incorporation of the human race, the whole, at one time, is never old, or middle-aged, or young, but in a condition of unchangeable constancy, moves on through the varied tenour of perpetual decay, fall, renovation, and progression. Thus, by preserving the method of nature in the conduct of the state, in what we improve we are never wholly new; in what we retain we are never wholly obsolete. By adhering in this manner and on those principles to our forefathers, we are guided not by the superstition of antiquarians, but by the spirit of philosophic analogy. In this choice of inheritance we have given to our frame of polity the image of a relation in blood; binding up the constitution of our country with our dearest domestic ties; adopting our fundamental laws into the bosom of our family affections; keeping inseparable, and cherishing with the warmth of all their combined and mutually reflected charities, our state, our hearths, our sepulchres, and our altars.

“Through the same plan of a conformity to nature in our artificial institutions, and by calling in the aid of her unerring and powerful instincts,

to fortify the fallible and feeble contrivances of our reason, we have derived several other, and those no small benefits, from considering our liberties in the light of an inheritance. Always acting as if in the presence of canonized forefathers, the spirit of freedom, leading in itself to misrule and excess, is tempered with an awful gravity. This idea of a liberal descent inspires us with a sense of habitual native dignity, which prevents that upstart insolence almost inevitably adhering to and disgracing those who are the first acquirers of any distinction. By this means our liberty becomes a noble freedom. It carries an imposing and majestic aspect. It has a pedigree and illustrating ancestors. It has its bearings and its ensigns armorial. It has its gallery of portraits; its monumental inscriptions; its records, evidences, and titles. We procure reverence to our civil institutions on the principle upon which nature teaches us to revere individual men; on account of their age; and on account of those from whom they are descended. All your sophisters cannot produce any thing better adapted to preserve a rational and manly freedom than the course that we have pursued, who have chosen our nature rather than our speculations, our breasts rather than our inventions, for the great conservatories and magazines of our rights and privileges.”*

How exactly does this pompous eulogy apply to the institutions of the Gathelians. Institutions,

* Reflections on the Revolution in France.

descending without interruption from Noah and Japhet, to the reign of Elizabeth. Institutions, founded not on an image of blood relation, but on the reality; transmitting landed property, office and station, hereditary in clans and families, which every generation held by life tenure, inalienable from the sept, but the first liable to revision, and renewed division; the latter the prize of merit in the same family. Thus were the acquisitions of every age, not as it were, but in truth, locked fast in a family settlement, descending with the various improvements of every generation to posterity. Their institutions they viewed with reverence, in the presence of their canonized forefathers; a people, and island, declared sacred, by the unanimous suffrage of Christendom. Their constitution, and their other institutions, had surely their monumental inscriptions, records, and evidences, derived from the first patriarchs. It is with pride they can look back to one of those revered ancestors, who produced two most splendid monuments of his genius, and communicated them to his children, as the means of preserving the memorials of events, dates, discoveries, and improvements of every kind. It was before the death of Noah, Japhet and Sem, that Phenius, that truly divine genius, invented the alphabet, and executed the gigantic plan of forming, from the radicals of all the dialects produced through the miraculous confusion of tongues, one language, as a perpetual testimony of the miracle; a clue to prove, by analyzing them, their original from one common

language. Through these invaluable organs, they have preserved to their institutions, a noble and majestic aspect; pedigree and illustrating ancestors, ensigns armorial and galleries of portraits, compared to which, the English, like other European nations, can produce nothing but as the mushroom growth of yesterday. While the monarchy and Irish independence existed, they were esteemed and respected by all Europe, by none more than the English; since their fall, Ireland has lost rank and respectability among the nations. She is hated, envied, and despised by her modern masters. Must it not be acknowledged, that the change has not proved very fortunate to the land, or people?

Let us now turn to the colonists, and see what harvest they had to reap, from the tares they sowed in exulting hope. Like their predecessors, they were fed with hopes of sharing the plunder of the antient proprietors. Alas! poor deluded loyal catholics! how sore was their disappointment. Repentance came, indeed, but too late. Not an acre for them; but, to embitter their sorrow, the whole spoil of the north was given to religionists of a new fashion, bitter enemies to them and their religion. The popish Pale, notwithstanding their boasted services to English government, recorded, as they said, in chronicles of blood, is discarded, confounded with the Irish enemy, and, like them, persecuted for their property and religion. The law of retaliation operated severely; not enforced by the injured natives, but by their masters, now meta-

morphosed into propagandists of a new faith, and persecutors of the old. Now the protestant Pale snatch the iron rod of lawless domination out of their enfeebled hands, and turn its blows on themselves. What is singular, the same sentence of proscription, uttered by themselves against the antient natives, was, some time after this period, pronounced verbatim, by one of the new Pale, only changing the word Irish to papist. Jones, bishop of Meath, scout-master-general to Cromwell, declared, " That the only way to reform and civilize the papists, was, to kill them and seize their property. The old, like the late partizans, were blind to the consequences of their furious zeal against their countrymen. They did not perceive, that prostrating their fellow-citizens, treating them as enemies, was preparing their own downfall. That a divided house cannot stand; and that they must share in the humiliation and impoverishment to which they were auxiliaries. James and his puritanic deputy, Chichester, soon undeceived them.

With fines and disabilities they were constantly assailed. The oath of supremacy was an indispensable qualification for any office, civil or military; even to be lawyers, to enter the university, or take possession of a paternal estate, must be accompanied with it. The fines were enforced, and jurors, in the star-chamber, met summary punishment, for acquitting the catholics. Adventurers, countenanced by the state, encouraged by the numerous donations of estates, and the easy attainment of affluent fortunes, ransacked old

records, dispossessed the old inhabitants, or obliged them to compound with a part of their property, being vested with portions of their lands, and other rewards.

'Midst this war against property and conscience, the intention of convening a parliament was announced. The provision of Poyning's law being neglected, the number of representatives considerably increased, by the addition of seventeen counties, and the creation of forty boroughs, whose deputies were appointed by Chichester, the temper of those in power furiously persecuting, the catholics feared* it would be productive to them of new and more oppressive injuries. This was stated to the throne, by the peers Gormanston, Slane, Kileen, Trimbleston, Dunsany and Louth, in the following address, dated the 25th of November, 1612.

" Most renowned and dread sovereigne.—The respective care of your highness's honour, with the obligation that our bounden duty requireth from us, doth not permit, that we, your nobility of this part of your majesty's realme of Ireland, commonly termed the English Pale, should suppress and be silent in ought, which in the least

* These fears were not groundless. Knox, a Scotch puritan, bishop of Raphoe, suggested to the deputy, the death or banishment of the persons, and the confiscation of the properties of papists, as the only sure means of extirpating popery out of Ireland.—Curry. The government, however, deemed it not prudent then to increase the penalties against the catholics, recalling all the bills which had been sent from England, " that the bill against the Jesuits, &c. might be taken away from the rest."—Des. Cur. Hib. vol. i. p. 325.

measure might ymport the honour of your majesty's most royal person, the reputation of your happy government, or the good and quiet of your estates and countryes; and therefore, are humbly bold to addresse these our submissive lynes to your highness, and so much the rather, till that of late years it hath been a duty specially required the nobility of this kingdom to advertise their princes your majesty's most noble progenitors, of all matters tending to their service, and to the utility of the common-wealth.

“ Your majesty's pleasure for calling a parliament in this kingdom hath been lately divulged, but the matters therein to be propounded not made known unto us, and others of the nobility; we being, notwithstanding, of the grand council of the realme, and may well be conceived to be the councell meant in the statute made in king Henry the seventh's time, who should join with the governour of this kingdom, in certifying thither, what acts should passe here in parliament; especially, it being hard to exclude those that in respect of their estates and residence, next your majesty, should most likely understand what were fittest to be enacted and ordeyned for the good of their prince and country.

“ Yet we are for our own parts well persuaded they will be such as will comport with the good and reliefe of your majesty's subjects, and give hopeful expectation of restauration of this lately torn and rended estate, if your majesty had bene rightly enformed, they having (as it is said) passed the censure of your highness's most rare

and matchlesse judgment. But th' extrene and public course held (whereof men of all sorts and qualities do take notice for the management thereof) hath generally bred so grievous an apprehension, as is not in our power to expresse, arising from a fearful suspicion that the project of erecting so many corporations in places that can scanty passe the rank of the poorest villages, in the poorest country of Christendome, do tend to nought else at this time, but that by the voices of a few selected for the purpose, under the name of burgesses, extreame penal laws should be ymposed upon your subjects here, contrary to the natures, customs, and dispositions of them all in effect, and so the general scope and institution of parliaments frustrated, they being ordeyned for the assurance of the subjects not to be processed with any new edicts or laws, but such as should pass with their general consent and approbation.

“ Your majesty's subjects here in general do likewise very much distaste and exclaime against the deposing of so many magistrates, in the cities and boroughs of this kingdom, for not swearing th' oath of supremacy in spiritual and ecclesiastical causes, they protesting a firm profession of loyalty, and an acknowledgment of all of kingly jurisdiction and authority in your highness; which course, for that it was so sparingly and myldly carried on in the time of your late sister of famous memory, queen Elizabeth, and but now in your highness's happy reign first extended unto the remote parts of this country; doth so much the

more affright and disquiet the minds of your well affected subjects here, especially, they conceiving, that by this means, those that are most sufficient and fit to exercise and execute those offices and places are secluded and removed, and they driven to make choice of others conformable in that point, but otherwise very unfit and incapable to undertake the charges, being generally of the meaner sort. Now whether it conduceth to the good of your estate, hereby to suffer the secret, home, evil affected subjects (of whom we wish there were none) to be transported with hope and expectation of the effects, which a general discontentment might in time produce, and to give scope to the rebels discontented of this nation abroad, to calumniate and cast an aspersion upon the honour and integrity of your highness's government, by displaying in all countries, kingdoms, and estates, and inculcating into the ears of foreign kings and princes, the foulness (as they will term it) of such practizes, we humbly leave to your majesty's most sacred, high, and princely consideration. And so, upon the knees of our loyal hearts do humbly pray, that your highness will be graciously pleased not to give way to courses, in the general opinion of your subjects here so hard and exorbitant, as to erect towns and corporations of places consisting of some few poor beggarly cottages, but that your highness will give direction, that there be no more created, till time, or traffick and commerce, do make places in the remote and unsettled countries here fit to be incorporated, and that your

majesty will benignly content yourself with the service of understanding men to come as knights of the shire out of the chief countries to the parliament. And to the end, to remove from your subjects hearts those fears and discontents, that your highness further will be graciously pleased to give order, that the proceedings of this parliament may be with the same moderation and indifferency as your most royal predecessors have used in like cases heretofore; wherein moreover, if your highness shall be pleased, out of your gracious clemency, to withdraw such laws, as may tend to the forcing of your subjects consciences here in matters concerning religion, you shall settle their minds in a most firm and faithful subjection. The honour, which your majesty, in all your actions and proceedings, hath hitherto so well maintained, the renown of your highness's transcendant understanding in matters of estate and government, and in particular the exemplary president of your majesty's never-to-be-forgotten moderation, in not condescending to such extraordinary courses for effecting the union of both kingdoms so much desired, doth give us full hope and assurance, that your highness will duely weigh and take in good worth these considerations by us layed down, and most graciously grant this our humble submissive suit, in which hope we do, and will always remain, your majesty's most humble and dutiful subjects,

Gormanston, Chr. Slane, Kileen, Rob.
Trimblettstown, Patrick Dunsany,
Ma. Lowth.

This respectful memorial the haughty James stigmatized rash and insolent; and the elections proceeded, in which the government and the people made the most strenuous exertions. In most of the counties the court candidates were foiled. Two hundred and thirty-two were returned for the commons: of these, six were absent, one hundred and twenty-five were protestants, one hundred and one catholics. Of the house of lords, of fifty members, twenty-five were protestant prelates, sixteen temporal barons, five viscounts, four earls. The sessions was appointed to be held in Dublin-castle; and Chichester prepared for its meeting, by drawing the army from distant garrisons into the city.

On the 18th of May, 1613, this memorable parliament was opened with great pomp, "the lord deputy, with all the peers of the realm, and the clergy, both bishops and archbishops, attired in scarlet robes very sumptuously, with sound of trumpets; the lord David Barry, viscount Buttevant, bearing the sword of state, and the earl of Thomond bearing the cap of maintenance; and after all these, the lord deputy (now baron of Belfast) followed, riding upon a most stately horse, very richly trapped, himself attired in a very rich and stately robe of purple velvet, which the king's majesty had sent him, having his train borne up by eight gentlemen of worth. They rode from the castle of Dublin to the cathedral church of St. Patrick, to hear divine service, and a sermon preached by the reverend father in God, Christopher Hampton, archbishop of Armagh,

and primate of all Ireland. But as many of the nobility of Ireland as were recusants, went not into the church, neither heard divine service or sermon, notwithstanding that they were lords of the parliament house; but they staid without during the time of service and sermon. Now when service was done, the lord deputy returned back to the castle, these recusant lords joining themselves again with the rest of the state, and rode to the castle in the same manner as they came from thence."* After the usual speech from the throne, the commons were directed to appoint a speaker. Sir John Davis, then attorney-general, was proposed; when Sir James Gough said, "that he observed many persons in the house who had no right to sit there as members; and therefore moved, that their votes might be for a time suspended, until a speaker was chosen; after which the legality of their elections should be duly enquired into." This was rejected, and Sir James, urged to proceed directly in the choice of a speaker, named Sir John Everard, who had been a justice of the king's bench, but resigned rather than take the oaths. A scene of confusion ensued, the votes could not be collected: to ascertain them, the supporters of Sir John Davis withdrew to another room, when the friends of Everard placed him in the chair, considering him elected by a majority of legal voices, which was the fact. But the court members forced him out, and fixed Davis in his place. A band of soldiers,

* *Deacid. Curios. Hib. vol. i. p. 166-7.*

posted at the entrance into parliament, with lighted matches, emboldened them to commit this outrage. The catholic members then seceded, and protested against the authors of these violent acts, as invaders of the liberties of their country, and of the rights and privileges of parliament. The catholic peers followed the example of the commons, and Chichester, unable to induce them to return, prorogued the parliament. The next day this remonstrance from divers lords of the Pale was sent to his majesty.

“ May it please your majesty, such is the excessive grief and anxiety of mind and conscience, which we, the nobility of this your highness’s kingdom, whose names are here underwritten, do conceive, by the more preposterous courses holden in parliament, as we must be informed, before we descend further, most humbly with tears, to implore your gracious favour, that if the due regard of your majesty’s sacred honour, the careful consideration of the good peace and tranquillity of this your realm and country, the tender and feeling respect of our bounden and obliged duty to both, to carry us in aught beyond the limits of a well-tempered moderation, your highness will be graciously pleased to pardon our excess herein, so far as pious dolor and justa iracundia, do in themselves deserve. It would far pass the compass of a letter, if we should insist to particularise the manifest, old, precedent disorders, and such as still do accompany this intended action; only your highness shall understand, that many knights from coun-

ties, and citizens and burgesses from cities and towns, have, contrary to the true election, been returned; and in some places force, and in many others fraud, deceit, and indirect means have been used for effecting of this so lawless a course of proceeding. Neither can we but make known unto your majesty, that under pretence of erecting towns in places of the new plantation, more corporations have been made since the beginning of last month, or a little more, than are returned out of the whole kingdom; besides, the number whereof (as we conceive it) contrary to your highness's intended purpose, are dispersed throughout all parts of this kingdom; and that in divers places, where there be good ancient boroughs, and not allowed to send burgesses to the parliament; and yet these new created corporations, for the most part are so miserable and beggarly poor, as their tuguria cannot otherwise be holden or demied than as tituli sine re, et figmenta in rebus; for divers of which (their extreme poverty being not able to defray the charges of burgesses, nor the places themselves to afford any one man fit to present himself in the poorest society of men) and others, we must confess, that some of great fashion have not sticked to abase themselves to be returned: the the lord deputy's servants, attornies, and clerks, resident only in the city of Dublin, most of them having never seen or known the places for which they were returned, and others of contemptible life and carriage. And what outrageous violence was offered yesterday to a grave gentleman, whom

men of all sorts that know him, do and will confess to be both learned, grave, and discreet, free from all touch and imputation, and whom those of the lower house, to whom no exceptions could be taken, had chosen to be their speaker, we leave, for avoiding tediousness to your highness, to their own further declaration. And forasmuch as, most renowned and dread sovereign, we cannot in any due proportion of reason expect redress in these our distressed calamities, where many of those who represent the body of your estate were the chief authors of them, upon the knees of our royal and submissive hearts, we humbly pray, that it would please your majesty to admit some of us to the access of your royal presence; where, if we fail in the least point of these our assertions, and declarations of other evils, which do multiply in this estate, we willingly submit ourselves to any punishment, as deserved, which it shall please your highness to lay and inflict upon us. For we are those, by the effusion of whose ancestors blood, the foundation of that empire, which we acknowledge your highness by the laws of God and man to have over this kingdom and people, was first laid, and in many succeeding ages preserved. To us it properly appertaineth, both in the obligation of public duty and private interest, to heed the good thereof, who never laid the foundation of our hopes upon the disturbance of it, garboils and dissensions being the downfal of our estate, as some of us now living can witness; and therefore, we cannot, but out of the consideration of our bounden duty and allegiance,

make known unto your highness the general discontent which those strange, unlooked for, and never heard of courses particularly have bred; whereof, if the rebellious and discontented of this nation abroad do take advantage, and procure the evil-affected at home, which are numbers, by reason of that already settled, and intended plantation, in any hostile fashion to set disorders at foot, and labour some underhand relief from any prince or estate abroad, who peradventure might be inveigled, and drawn to commiserate their pretended distresses and oppressions; however, we are assured the prowess and power of your majesty in the end will bring the authors thereof to ruin and confusion; yet it may be attended with the effusion of much blood, exhausting of masses of treasure, the exposing of us, and others your highness's well-affected subjects, to the hazard of poverty, whereof the memory is very lively and fresh among us; and finally, to the laying open of the whole commonalty to the inundation of all miseries and calamities, which garboils, civil war, and dissentions do breed and draw with them, in a rent and torn estate. For preventing whereof, we nothing doubt but your majesty will give redress, by the equal balance of your highness's justice, which we beseech the Almighty, with your royal person, ever to maintain and preserve, your majesty's most faithful subjects,

David Buttevant. Gormanston. D. Roche,
Fermoy. Montgarret. Killine. Delvin.
C. Slane. R. Trymbleston. J. Dunboyne.
Matthew Louth. Thomas Cahyr.

The commons, in the following petition, stated their grievances, by Sir James Gough, William Talbot, P. Hussie, and T. Lutterell, four of the most considerable of their body. These were accompanied from the house of lords, by D. Roche, viscount Fermoy; Christopher Plunket, lord baron of Killeen, afterwards earl of Fingall; the lord baron of Delvin, afterwards earl of Westmeath; together with Sir Patrick Barnwell and four lawyers.

“ To the right hon. the lords of his majesty’s most honorable privy council, the humble petition of the knights, citizens and burgesses of the counties, cities, and ancient boroughs of Ireland.

“ Most humbly declaring to your lordships, that the assurance of his majesty’s most princely inviolable justice, whereof your lordships, in matters of state and government, are the high and supreme distributors, doth embolden us, in our oppressions, to address these our submissive lines to your honours; wherein our purpose is, not to be pleaders, the strangeness of our extremities finding no fit words to express them; and therefore, in declaration of the naked truth, your lordships shall understand that we, the knights, citizens, and burgesses of the counties, cities, and ancient boroughs of this realm, coming, according to our bounden duties, into the parliament house, we find there fourteen counsellors of state, three of the judges, having before received writs to appear in the higher house, all his majesty’s council at law; and the rest of the number, for the most part, consisting of

attornies, clerks in courts, of the lord deputy's retinue, and others his household-servants, with some lately come out of England, having no abiding here; and all these, save very few, were returned from the new corporations erected, to the number of forty or thereabouts, not only in places of the new plantation, but also in other provinces, where there be corporations of antiquity; few or none of them having been ever resident, and most of them having never seen these places: the rest, who possessed the rooms of knights of shires, save four or six, came in by practice, and dishonest devises, whereunto themselves were not strangers; and some there were from antient boroughs, who intruded themselves into their places, by as undue and unlawful means: as the knights and burgesses duly elected were ready at the parliament door to prove and avouch. For redress whereof, we of the ancient shires, cities, and towns, to whom no exceptions could be taken, being desirous to take the usual and accustomed course, what outrageous violence ensued, by the fury of some there, we humbly leave to your lordships to be informed by our declarations; whereunto a schedule, by direction of my lord deputy, subscribed with our hands, is annexed. And forasmuch, right honourable, as the strangeness of these proceedings in a christian commonwealth is such as we think his majesty and your lordships will hardly be induced to believe; they being in the likelihood of impossibility, equal to that of Messalino, unto the emperor Claudius in ancient Rome; or to any

other accident, how rare soever, transmitted to posterity in modern or ancient shires, we humbly pray that your lordships, in commiseration of our distress, will be a mean to his highness that some of us, with some of our nobility, may be licenced to present ourselves there, for the proof of our assertions; wherein if we fail in any one point, we utterly renounce all favour; and that in the mean time his majesty will be pleased to suspend his gracious judgment, in the apprehension of what to our prejudice may be informed here; those from whom his highness doth usually receive information, being the authors of the carriage of what is done amiss.

To counteract their measures, the deputy sent the earl of Thomond, Sir John Denham, chief justice of the king's bench, and Sir Oliver St. John, master of the ordnance. The Catholic agents were received most ungraciously; two of them, Talbot and Lutterell, imprisoned, one in the Tower, the other in the Fleet. Still they persevered, and laid before the king nineteen additional articles of grievance, in the military and civil administration of Ireland, which they humbly besought his royal grace and equity to redress, intreating indifferent commissioners to be sent to enquire into them. This was complied with. Commissioners, accompanied by some of the catholic agents, repaired to Ireland. They were followed by Sir James Gough; who, landing at Waterford, "spread the joyful news, that the king commanded him to assure the Irish subjects, that they should be free in the exercise of

religion, provided they entertained no priests who should preach the deposing power of the pope."* The glad tidings reached the capital; a general joy was diffused; Gough, in the presence of the principal recusants, told Chichester, that he was commissioned to make those assurances he had already notified to his countrymen, and to inform the lord deputy of his majesty's pleasure. But Chichester, better acquainted with James's real intentions, publicly reprov'd Sir James Gough for, as he termed it, this insolent falsehood, and committed him close prisoner to the castle of Dublin. "His party expressed the less resentment at this severity, as they expected speedy redress. The deputy was summoned to attend the king in England, which they conceived to be the prelude to his disgrace: and Jones, the chancellor, and marshal Wingfield, the new lords justices, conducted the administration with the greater ease, as the principal scene of Irish affairs now lay at the court of England, and the discontented waited for the final triumph of their agents."*

Two of their members imprisoned; the voluntary contribution for defraying their expences stopped by proclamation, the Catholic agents found themselves compelled thus to petition his majesty: "Your petitioners having so long expected your gracious pleasure and resolution concerning the affairs of their complaints, as their means are altogether spent, and the supply

* Leland. Hist. Ireland, B. IV. c. vii. p. 453.

of their wants become hopeless, by means of a proclamation lately published in your majesty's realm of Ireland, straightly inhibiting any collection or voluntary contribution to be levied or sent, to defray their necessary charges, towards the attendance of your princely pleasure, as by the tenor of the said proclamation, extant to be seen, appeareth; which courses enforce your petitioners, beyond all willingness, to importune your royal majesty, to vouchsafe so speedy a dispatch, as the necessity of their wants greatly urgeth..... They further pray, that his majesty would be pleased, out of his matchless clemency, to accept their unfeigned protestation of their bounden fidelity and loyalty to his highness, which freely proceedeth from undoubted true hearts, without equivocation or mental reservation, that neither the pope, nor any other potentate whatsoever, hath authority to put your highness from the crown, deprive you of your kingdoms, or commit so horrible an act as to bereave your majesty of your life, which we ever held, and do hold, most odious to be thought of or spoken: for the defence whereof your petitioners' lives, lands and goods shall be always ready, as becometh true subjects; wherein we are assured, your majesty's poor subject, William Talbot,* now a prisoner in the tower, will join; the confidence of whose unfeigned thoughts therein moveth us to prostrate ourselves at your majesty's

* Under the pretence of his maintaining these so solemnly disclaimed opinions, this gentleman suffered a long imprisonment, and was fined ten thousand pounds.

feet, humbly desiring a commiseration of his restraint.... There was not any speedy answer made to this petition, by reason his majesty was not then at leisure."*

At length, on the 21st of September, 1613, before the lords of the council at Whitehall, James dismissed the catholic agents, in a formal speech, which as it places the conduct of the monarch, on this remarkable occasion, in the clearest point of view, is here inserted.

"My Lords, These noblemen and gentlemen of Ireland are called hither this day to hear my conclusion and determination in a cause of great consequence, which hath depended long in trial. Thus far it hath had formality; for it is a formality, that kings hold in all processes of importance, to proceed slowly, to give large hearing, and to use long debate, before they give their sentence. These gentlemen will not deny that I have lent them my own ear, and have shewed more patience and a desire to understand their cause at full: it resteth now, that we make a good conclusion, after so long a debate.

"It is a good rule to observe three points, in all weighty businesses; long and curious debate, grave and mature resolution, and speedy execution. The first is already past; the second is to be performed this day; and the last must follow as soon as conveniently may be.

"I promised to these noblemen and gentlemen of the recusant party of parliament, justice with

* Desid. Curios. Hib. vol. i. p. 236.

favour; let them see whether I have performed my promise: sure I am, but for performance of that promise, I should not have given such patient hearing, nor made such a curious search into the causes of their complaints, neither should I make such a conclusion as I am now like to make of this business.

“ In the search (though I doubted not of the honour and justice of the lord deputy's government) yet I dealt not with him as with my servant, not as with one the most unreprieveable governor, that ever was in that kingdom (as some of yourselves have acknowledged him to be to myself) but as with a party: but after the commissioners had heard all that could be alleged, I found him indeed a faithful servant by their certificate, which was conclusio in causâ.

“ The gentlemen I sent were such as no exception could be taken against them, some were never there before; some, so long sithence, that *rerum facies fuit mutata*, since they lived in that kingdom.

“ It rests me now to set down my conclusion; but before I declare my judgment, I will speak of some things offered by you the recusant half-body, which are called parliament-recusants. I have heard of church-recusants, but not of parliament-recusants; this difference was never before heard of.

“ First, the letter you sent unto me the beginning of the parliament was full of pride and arrogance, wanting much of the respects, which subjects owe their sovereign.

“ Now if I should do you justice, I should take you at your word, lay together your offer in your letters, and the articles, which my attorney laid open unto you, then shall you see your case.

“ For you made offer, that if you failed to prove any one point of that, which was contained in your complaint, you would renounce my favour in all; yet have you scarce proved a word true; but, on the other side, almost every point hath been proved contrary.

“ Of fourteen returns whereof you complain, but two have been proved false, and in the government nothing hath been proved faulty, except you would have the kingdom of Ireland like the kingdom of heaven.

“ But commonly offenders are most bold to make offers of their innocency; for they (being in a passion) begin in heat, and continue in heat, but when they see themselves in the glass of their own vanity, they find their error. And this I have found in my own experience in Scotland, and since my coming hither.

“ Now I will divide my speech in two parts, touching the offences done by you, and your complaints against the state and government.

“ To the first, an unusual favour was offered you by my deputy, for he sent for you, and advised you to consider what laws were fit to be propounded for that commonwealth, and offered to concur with you. Your answer should have been humble thanks on your knees, but you neglected that favour, and answered by your agent in the name of the rest, that you would first be

made acquainted with such bills as the deputy and council there had resolved to transmit.

“ Before the parliament, there was sent to me by a few men a letter, rash and insolent, that nothing should be pursued in parliament, but you should be acquainted with, and withal threatening me with rebellion in a strange fashion, with similitudes unsavourly and unmannerly, and unfit to be presented to any monarch; and after that, you did nothing but heap complaint upon complaint, till the parliament was sat down.

“ The parliament being sat, you went on with a greater contempt: there were in the lower house two bodies, and but one head, a greater monster than two heads upon one body. And whereas you should have made an humble and dutiful answer to the commendation, which I made of a speaker, you the recusant-party (being the fewer) when the greater number went out to be numbered, shut the door, and thrust one into the chair as a speaker *manu forti*. After this, the recusants of both houses depart from the parliament. The like was never heard of in France, Spain, or any other kingdom of Christendom.

“ Then came petitions to the deputy of a body without a head, a headless body: you would be afraid to meet such a body in the streets: a body without a head to speak, nay, half a body; what a monster were this, a very bug-bear! Methinks you, that would have a visible body head of the church over all the earth, and acknowledge a temporal head under Christ, he may likewise

acknowledge my viceroy or deputy of Ireland.

“ Then did the deputy give you warning to come to the parliament, to pass the bill of recognition, but that you put it off with tricks and shifts, which thing I will urge no farther; but why should the lords refuse to come? They had no colour of absenting themselves, having nothing to do with the orders or disorders of the lower house; the lords here, and the lower house, are as great strangers in these matters, as the parliament houses of Spain and France; neither had the recusants of the lower house any just cause of defection, since an indifferent committee was offered to them.

“ This was such an ill example, and such a crime, to refuse to appear at the king’s summons, as if you should advise with lawyers upon it, I know not what it may impart: after this, hither you came, and only your appeal to me hath inclined me to mercy, yet I speak not this to encourage your complaints to be brought hither, when the deputy and state may determine them, though this being a matter of parliament, was fit for the king’s hearing, and your appeal hath been heard and heard usq; ad nauseam.

And whereas it should have wrought humility and thanks, the fruit hath been, that (I will not say in a preposterous, but) in a rebellious manner, you have heaped complaints upon complaints, and petitions upon petitions, not warranted with any truth, to make the more noise, whereas you should have looked back to your own miscarriages.

“ Then I sent commissioners to examine, as well the by as the main business, which you first presented to be the cause of your appealing to me, but, instead of thanks for that favour, there came yet more new complaints, which, because the council here have already answered, I will not speak of.—Now if you look back to your own miscarriages, and my lenity, you shall find, that your carriage hath been most undutiful and unreasonable, and in the next degree to treason, and that you have nothing to fly to but my grace.

“ The lower house here in England doth stand upon its privileges as much as any council in Christendom, yet, if such a difference had risen there, they would have gone on with my service notwithstanding, and not have broken up their assembly upon it. You complain of fourteen false returns. Are there not many more complained of in this parliament, yet they do not forsake the house for it? Now, for your complaint's touching parliament matters, I find no more amiss in that parliament, than in the best parliament in the world; escapes and faults of sheriffs there may be, yet not proved; or if it had been proved, no cause to stay the parliament, all might have been set right by an ordinary course or trial, to which I must refer them. But you complain of the new boroughs, therein I would fain feel your pulse, for yet I find not where the shoe wrings. For, first, you question the power of the king, whether he may lawfully make them? And then you question the wisdom of the king and his council;

in that you say, there are too many made. It was never before heard, that any good subjects' did dispute the king's power in this point. What is it to you, whether I make many or few boroughs; my council may consider the fitness, if I require it; but what if I had made forty noblemen, and four hundred boroughs, the more the merrier, the fewer the better cheer. But this complaint, as you made it, was preposterous, for in contending for a committee, before you agreed of a speaker, did put the plough before the horse, so as it went on untowardly like your Irish ploughs; but because the eyes of the master maketh the horse fat, I have used my own eyes in taking a view of those boroughs, and have seen a list of them all. God is my judge, I find the new boroughs, except one or two, to be as good as the old, comparing Irish boroughs new with Irish boroughs old (for I will not speak of the boroughs of other countries); and yet, besides the necessity of making them, like to increase and grow better daily; besides, I find but few erected in each county, and in many counties but one borough only, and those erected in fit places near forts or passages for the safety of the country: methinks you, that seek the good of the kingdom, should be glad of it.

“ I have caused London also to erect boroughs there, and when they are thoroughly planted, will be a great security to that part of the kingdom; therefore you quarrel with that, which may bring peace to the countrey, for the persons, returned out of those boroughs, you complain

they have no residence, if you said they had no interest, it had been somewhat; but most of them have interest in the kingdom, and qui habent interesse, are like to be as careful as you for the weal thereof.

“ I seek not emendicata suffragia, such boroughs as have been made since the summons are wiped away at one word for this time, I have tried that, and done you fair play, but you that are of a contrary religion, must not look to be the only Law-makers; you are but half subjects, should have but half privilege; you that have an eye to me one way, and to the pope another way, the pope is your father in spiritualibus, and I in temporalibus only, and so have your bodies torn one way, and your souls drawn another; you that send your children to the seminaries of treason, strive henceforth to become full subjects, that you may have cor unum, and viam unam, and then I shall respect you all alike; but your Irish priests teach you such grounds of doctrine, as you cannot follow them with a safe conscience, but you must cast off your loyalty to your king.

“ Touching the grievances whereof you have complained, I am loath to spend breath in them; if you charge the inferior ministers of the country, all countries are subject to such grievances; if you charge the deputy and state, nihil probatur. Indeed I hear (not from you, but from others) there is one thing grievous to the country; that notwithstanding the composition established in the province, the governours there do

send out their purveyors, who take up their âchates, and other provision upon the country: if this had been complained of to the deputy, or to me, it had been reformed, the deputy himself at Dublin doth not grieve the country with any such burden.

“ Another thing there is, that grieveth the people, which is that in the country, where there is half peace and half war, the sheriffs and soldiers in their passage do commit many extortions.

“ For these grievances, I myself will call the deputy unto me, and set down such orders in this time of vacation, as these abuses shall be redressed and clear taken away; and if any such disorder be suffered hereafter, it shall be only be for fault of complaining; and because the meaner sort will perhaps fear to complain, I would have such gentlemen of the country, as are of best credit, to present complaints, which they may do in such manner as the parties who prefer the complaint may not be known.

“ There is a double cause, why I should be careful of the welfare of that people: first as King of England, by reason of the long possession the crown of England hath had of that land; and also as King of Scotland, for the ancient Kings of Scotland are descended of the Kings of Ireland, so as I have an old title as King of Scotland, therefore you shall not doubt to be relieved when you complain, so as you will proceed without clamour. Moreover, my care hath been, that no acts should be preferred that should be grievous to the people; and to that end I

perused them all except one, that I saw not till of late, that is now out of door, for I protest I have been more careful for the bills to be passed in that parliament, than in the parliament of England.

“ Lastly, for imputations that may seem to touch the deputy, I have found nothing done by him, but what is fit for an honourable gentleman to do in his place, which he hath discharged as well as any deputy did, and divers of you have confessed so to me, and I find your complaints against him, and the state, to be causeless expositions.

“ To conclude, my sentence is, that in the matter in parliament, you have carried yourselves tumultuously and undutifully, and that your proceedings hath been rude, disorderly, and inexcusable, and worthy of severe punishment; which by reason of your submission I do forbear, but not remit, till I see your dutiful carriage in this parliament; where by your obedience to the deputy and state, and your future good behaviour, you may redeem your by-past miscarriage, and then you may deserve not only pardon, but favour and cherishing.”

. Thus James dismissed those, by the effusion of whose ancestors' blood the foundation of the English dominion in this island was first laid, and for many ages preserved. The influence of his tyrannical proceedings was visible on the meeting of parliament, the proceedings of which were perfectly agreeable to him. The exceptions against the elections, it was agreed should be for

the present suspended, "for the better expedition and furtherance of the service (raising the supplies, &c.) with caution, that the proceeding to the passing of any bill, or other affair of the house, shall no way be a precedent or conclusion, whereby the benefit or advantage of such like exceptions, may not at any time hereafter be taken and had, so far forth as the law, or allowable precedent before this parliament will warrant or approve."* This order was repeated in the following session; and James sent orders to the deputy, "that the burgesses returned upon the new charters from Tallagh, Lismore, Caterlogh, Clonakilty, Fethard, Augher, Belfast, and Charlemont; as also those from Kildare and Cavan, being falsely returned, should forbear to sit in that house, unless they should be again duly elected." And also that "the burgesses returned from the towns of Clogher, Athlone and Gowran, should forbear to sit in the house of parliament."† Although in his speech to the Catholic agents he averred, that only two returns had been proved false; and the deputy, in reply to them, had confidently stated, "that he knew not any false or undue return made, and that he did verily think all the returns of protestants would fall out to be legal, without any just exception."‡

In this parliament, thus composed, the following acts were passed. An act, called an act for general pardon, which in the recital states, "that

* Comm. Journ. Vol. I. p. 45-7.

† Desid. Curios. Hibern. Vol. I. p. 324-5.

‡ Ib. p. 269.

all the subjects of the realm of Ireland shall be acquitted, pardoned and released, of all manner of treasons, felonies, &c. paynes of death, paynes corporal and pecuniarie, &c. and generally of all other things in this present act not excepted, &c. unto the first day of this session of parliament." It then proceeds to except "all manner of high treasons, misprisions of treason, counterfeiting the privy seal, murder, piracies, house-burnings, witchcrafts, depriving the king of any goods, &c. of any traytor, &c., forfeitures, authors or printers or consenters to the making or publishing of any false seditious or slaunderous booke or libell in any wise against the king's majesty or the present government of this realme in cases either ecclesiastical or temporal, or against any person whatsoever, intrusions upon or wastes of the king's lands, alienations of lands without licence, fines to the king from such alienations, concealed wards and their lands, sithence the beginning of his majestie's raighe: all burglaries, robberies, rapes, committed within one year before the beginning of the session of that parliament: all persons imprisoned by the lord deputy or privy council: all persons which at at any timesithence the beginning of his majesties raighe have fled or remained out of Ireland without licence;" and a long et cetera of exceptions in this 'free and general pardon.'

An act of recognition of his majesty's title, which states, that "the records of former parliaments contain grievous complaints of the miseries and calamities of this land and people, but

we have more just cause to record our joy and comfort than our predecessors ever had to express their grievances: for as by the singular providence of God even at this very time when the crown of this realm descended unto your majesty, the most dangerous and universal rebellion that ever was raised in this kingdom was quenched and appeased, in the suppressing whereof the unreformed parts of this land, which being ruled only by Irish lords and customs, had never before received the laws and civil government, were so broken and reduced to obedience, as that all the inhabitants thereof did gladly submit themselves to your highness ordinary laws and magistrates, which gave unto your majesty a more entire, absolute and actual possession of this whole realm than ever any of your noble progenitors had before you." Thus does this act stigmatize the legitimate war of O'Nial, against the tyrant Elizabeth, rebellion; although it immediately after allows the independency of that prince. It proceeds extolling the measures and "princely wisdom of his majesty; who, by an act of oblivion, charters of pardon, remitting many arrears of rents and forfeitures, strengthening many defective titles, accepting surrenders, and regranting estates unto many of the meer Irish and others, who could derive no other title to their lands than a long continuance of possessions, (can a better be shewn, than possession time immemorial?) hath secured the lands, lives and goods of the greatest part of your subjects, to their unspeakable joy and comfort, whereupon hath ensued

that universal peace and obedience as the like thereof hath not been seen in Ireland." It proceeds to state that the crown and kingdom of Ireland did by inherent birth-right and lawful and undoubted succession descend to him, "and thereunto we most humbly and faithfully do submit, and oblige us our heirs and posterities for ever, untill the last drop of our blood be spent."

The act of attainder and outlawry, against the noblemen and gentlemen of six entire counties of Ulster, was introduced by Sir John Everard, leader of the catholics in this parliament. In its progress, a committee of the commons was appointed to wait on the lord deputy, "to acquaint him with a scruple that was moved, whether that attainder did look back to treasons committed before the king's time, or only since."* To this no answer appears from the deputy, only the passing of the following bill.

"In most humble manner beseechen your most excellent majestie your most loyal, faithfull and true hearted subjects the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons in this present parliament assembled, that whereas

Hugh late earle of Tyrone,

Rory late earle of Tyrconnell,

Hugh Oneye late baron of Dungannon and eldest sonne of the said earle of Tyrone,

Henry Oneye, second sonne of the said earle of Tyrone,

* Comm. Jour. Vol. I. p. 45, 47.

Sir Cahir Odogherty late of Birtecastle in the county of Dunegall knight,

Coconnaught Magyre late of Inniskillen in the county of Farmanagh esquire,

Ogby Oge Ohanlon eldest sonne of Sir Ogby Ohanlon knight late of Tovergy in the county of Armagh esquire,

Caffer Odonell brother to the late earle of Tirconnel late of Caffersconse in the said county of Dunegal esquire,

Caffer Oge Odonel late of Starfollis in the said county of Dunegal esquire,

Donel Oge Odonel late of Dunegal in the said county of Dunegal esquire,

Brean Oge Mac Mahowne, alias Brian ne Sawagh Mac Mahowne late of Clonleege in the upper trought in the countie Monaghan gentleman.

Art Oge Mac Cormocke Oneyale late of Clogher in the countie of Tirone esquire,

Henry Hovenden late of Dungannon in the countie of Tirone gent.

Mortogh Oquyn late of the same, gent.

Richard Weston late of Dondalke in the countie of Lowth merchant,

John Bath late of Donalonge in the countie of Tyrone merchant,

Christopher Plunket late of Dungannon in the said countie of Tyrone gent.

John Opanty Ohagan late of the same, gent.

John Rath late of Drogheda merchant,

Hugh Mac Donell Ogallachor late of Dunegal in the said countie of Dunegal gent.

Terrelagh Carragh Ogallochor late of the same gent.

Phelim Reagh Mac David late of Eloagh in the said countie of Dunegal gent.

John Crone Mac David late of the same gent.

Edmond Grome Mac David late of the same, gent.

Matthew Oge Omultully late of Dunegal in the said countie of Dunegal gent.

Donogh Mac Mahowne Obrian late of Rathumlin in the said countie of Dunegal gent.

Teige Okenan late of the same, gent.

Henry Ohagan late of Dunganan in the said countie of Tyrone, gent.

Teige Ohanan late of the same, gent. and

Teige Modder Oquine late of the same, gent. Most falsely and trayterously as well by open rebellion in divers parts of this your majesties realm of Ireland, as by sundry treacherous confederacies and abominable treasons against your majestie, tending to the utter subversion and ruine of the state and commonwealth of this kingdom, of which treasons, the said Hugh late earle of Tyrone, &c. have been indicted, and by process of outlawrie attainted according to the course of the common lawes of this realm, the said Sir Cahir Odogherty and Brian ne Sawagh Mac Mahowne have been slaine, being in actual rebellion against your majesty, and whereas Sir Hugh Maguire late of Iniskillin in the county of Farmanagh knight, Sir John Oreilly late of the Cavan in the county of Cavan knight, Philippe Oreilly late of the same esquire, and Ed-

mond Oreilly late of the same esquire, being in open action of rebellion against the said queen Elizabeth of famous memorie, the said Sir Hugh Maguire, Philippe Oreilly and Edmond Oreilly were slain in their said action of rebellion, and the said Sir John Oreilly adhering to the said traytor late earle of Tyrone dyed in rebellion against the said late queen Elizabeth, as by sundrie inquisitions remaining of record in your highness court of chancery in this your realm of Ireland doth and may appear: it may please your most excellent majesty of your gracious disposition which your highness doth bear towards the settling of this unreformed kingdom, and as well for the comfort of your true and loyal subjects, as for an example and terrour to all rebellious and trayterous persons, that all and every the attaindours of the persons above named be approved and confirmed by the authority of this present parliament. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that as well the said Hugh late earle of Tyrone, Rory late earle of Tirconnel, &c. as also the said Sir Cahir Odogherty knight, Sir Hugh Maguire knight, Sir John Oreilly, Philip Oreilly, Edmond Oreilly and Bryan ne Sawagh Mac Mahown, and every of them stand and be adjudged persons convicted and attainted of high treason, and that as many of the said offenders and persons before named as be yet in life and not pardoned for the same offences shall and may at your highness will and pleasure suffer pains of death as in his cases of high treason, and that all and every the said

offendors by this present act attainted for their said treasons, shall be declared and adjudged to have lost and forfeited to your highness and to your heirs and successors from the time of their several treasons committed, all and every such honors, territories, countries, castles, manors, messuages, lands, tenements, rents, reversions, remainders, possessions, rights, conditions, interests, offices, fees, annuities, and all other their hereditaments, goods, chattels, debts, and other things, of whatsoever names, manners or qualities they be, which they or any of them had to their or any of their uses, or which any other had to their or any of their uses, or any the dayes of their said several treasons committed perpetrated or done, or at any time sithence. Provided always and nevertheless be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, that this act or any thing therein contained shall not in any wise extend to make void any grant, gift, lease or demise made by our sovereign lord the king of any of the said honors, countries, territories, castles, manors, messuages, lands, tenements or hereditaments to any person or persons by letters patents under the great seal of Ireland, or under the great seal of England at any time or times sithence the said treasons committed..... Provided nevertheless that this act shall not extend to ratifie, confirm or make good any letters patents heretofore made to the said Hugh late earle of Tyrone, Rory late earle of Tirconnel, Coconnaght Maguire deceased father of the said Coconnaght Maguire above mentioned, the said Sir Cahir Odogherty knight, and

the said Brian ne Sawagh Mac Mahown, or to either or any of them, or to any person or persons to whom any estate is limited in and by the said letters patents. But any or either of them be utterly repealed and from henceforth deemed and adjudged void to all intents constructions and purposes, any thing in this present act contained to the contrary notwithstanding."

It is well worthy of notice, that this act does not specify any particulars of the conspiracy imputed to them; not even their flight, which was the only proof, and that merely presumptive, that was alleged for it. It barely recites, in general, as the grounds of that attainder, these noblemen's having committed and perpetrated acts of treason against his majesty (which, as has been seen, they were only suspected or accused of having intended to commit) and their own ancestors' former rebellion against queen Elizabeth. When Chichester was appointed deputy, James instructed him, "that one of his first works should be, to secure that people, who generally have conducted themselves as becometh natural and loving subjects, from ever being called in question for any offence done, either before or in the precedent rebellion."* The justificatory proclamation of James, on the flight of these earls, it now becomes necessary to insert.

"By the king. A proclamation touching the earles of Tirone and Tirconnel. Seeing it is common and natural in all persons of what con-

* Desid. Curios. Hib. Vol. I. p. 448.

dition soever, to speak and judge variably of all new and sudden accidents; and that the flight of the earles of Tirone and Tirconnel, with some others out of the north parts of our realme of Ireland, may haply prove a subject of like discourse: we have thought it not amiss to deliver some such matter in publike, as may better cleare men's judgements concerning the same; not in respect of any worth or value in these mens persons, being base and rude in their originall, but to take away all such inconveniences as may blemish the reputation of that friendship, which ought to be mutually observed betweene us and other princes. For although it is not unlikely, that the report of their titles and dignities, may draw from princes and states some such courtesies at their first coming abroad, as are incident to men of extraordinary rancke and qualitie: yet, when wee have taken the best meanes wee can to lay them open in every condition, wee shall then expect from our friends and neighbours all such just and noble proceedings as stand with the rules of honour and friendship, and from our subjects at home and abroad, that duety and obedience (in their carriage towards them) which they owe to us by inseperable bonds and obligations of nature and loyaltie, whereof wee intend to take streight accompt. For which purpose, wee do hereby first declare, that these persons abovementioned had not their creations or possessions in regard of any lineall or lawfull descent from ancestors of blood or vertue, but were onely preferred by the late queene our sister

of famous memory, and by our selves, for some reasons of state before others, who for their qualitie and birth (in those provinces where they dwell) might better have challenged those honours which were conferred upon them. Secondly, wee doe profess, that it is both knowen to us and our counsell here, and to our deputie and state there, and so shall it appeare to the world (as cleare as the sunne) by evident proofes, that the onely ground and motive of this high contempt in these mens departure, hath been the private knowledge and inward terrour of their owne guiltinesse: whereof, because wee heare that they doe seeke to take away the blot and infamie, by divulging that they have withdrawn themselves for matters of religion (a cloake that serves too much in these dayes to cover many evill intentions) adding also thereunto, some other vaine pretexts of receiving injustice, when their rights and claims have come in question betweene them and us, or any of our subjects and them, wee think it not impertinent to say somewhat thereof.

“ And therefore, although wee judge it needlesse to seeke for many arguments to confirme whatsoever shall be said of these mens corruption and falshood, (whose hainous offences remaine so fresh in memorie, since they declared themselves so very monsters in nature, as they did not only withdraw themselves from their personall obedience to their soveraigne, but were content to sell over their native countrey, to those that stood at that time in the highest terms

of hostilitie with the two crowns of England and Ireland) yet, to make the absurditie and ingratitude of the allegations abovementioned, so much the more cleare to all men of equall judgement, wee do hereby professe in the worde of a kinge, that there never was so much as any shadowe of molestation, nor purpose of proceeding in any degree against them for matter concerning religion. Such being their condition and profession, to thinke murder no fault, mariage of no use, nor any man worthy to be esteemed valiant that did not glorie in rapine and oppression; as we should have thought it an unreasonable thing to trouble them for any different point in religion, before any man could perceive by their conversation, that they made truely conscience of any religion. So do wee also for the second part of their excuse affirme, that (notwithstanding all that they can claime, must be acknowledged to proceed from meere grace upon their submission, after their great and unnaturall treasons) there hath never come any question concerning their rights or possessions, wherein wee have not bene more inclinable to do them favour then to any of their competitours, except in those cases wherein wee have plainly discerned that their onely end was to have made themselves by degrees more able than now they are, to resist all lawfull authoritie (when they should returne to their vomit againe) by usurping a power over other good subjects of ours, that dwell among them, better borne than they, and utterly disclaiming from any dependencie upon them.

“ Having now delivered thus much concerning these mens estates and their proceedings, wee will onely end with this conclusion, that they shal not be able to denie, whensoever they should dare to present themselves before the seate of justice, that they have (before the running out of our kingdom) not only entred into combination for stirring sedition and intestine rebellion, but have directed divers instruments, as well priestes as others, to make offers to foreine states and princes (if they had bene as ready to receive them) of their readinesse and resolution to adhere to them whensoever they should seeke to invade that kingdome. Wherein, amongst other things, this is not to be forgotten, that under the condition of being made free from English government, they resolved also to comprehend the utter extirpation of all those subjects that are now remayning alive within that kingdome, formerly descended from the English race. In which practices and propositions, followed and fomented by priestes and Jesuites (of whose function in these times the practise and perswasion of subjects to rebell against their soveraignes, is one special and essentiall part and portion) as they have found no such encouragement as they expected and have boasted of; so wee doe assure ourselves, that when this declaration shall bee seene and duely weighed with all due circumstances, it will bee of force sufficient to disperse and to discredit all such untrueths, as these contemptible creatures, so full of infidelity and ingratitude, shall disgorge against us, and our

just and moderate proceeding, and shall procure unto them no better usage then they would wish should be afforded to any such packe of rebels, borne their subjects, and bound unto them in so many and so great obligations. Given at our palace of Westminster," &c.

When parliament demanded reasons for passing an act of attainder on the lords and gentlemen of the north, they gave proof positive of their disbelief in the fictitious plot, and the anonymous letter pretending to discover it. If the deputy had proofs, that would make it clear as the sun, as James boasted in his proclamation, why did he not produce them to his spurious, packed parliament? Why did he leave them to cover the robbery with inadmissible reasons. The insurrection of O'Dogherty and Brian Mac Mahon, during the king's reign, they produce as justificatory of their attainder. But what reasons do they assign for attainting all the rest? Being in open action of rebellion against queen Elizabeth of famous memory! If they believed in the plot would they recur to so infamous a motive, as convicts them and their master of Punic faith. The war terminated in a treaty of peace, concluded with O'Neil in the name of Elizabeth, ratified afterwards by James, and confirmed by an act of general amnesty. What becomes of the faith of treaties, if, after all, they are to be prosecuted as subdued rebels? They made peace with them, while as yet they were in arms and kept the field, in order to fall on them afterwards by surprize, unarmed, dispersed, and

make them a prey; as manifestly appears from their conduct. To supply the deficiency of real grounds for confiscation, James's packed majority adopted a lie, stating that Edmond O'Reily died fighting against Elizabeth; whereas he died peaceably in the monastery of St. Francis at Cavan. This circumstance is probably the last evidence we can expect from the faithful annals of Donnegall, as that seminary of piety and learning was pillaged and suppressed by the worse than Gothic enemies of Irish men and race.

The Milesian power annihilated, as we have seen, after a contest of 440 years, the statutes, which insulated the Pale, and maintained implacable war against the native Irish, were now repealed. On the statute book they remain, a proof of the independence of the native Irish, and of the calumnies of libellers, who stile the Milesians rebels, antecedent to this period. Incomplete must the history of Ireland be, in which this act of repeal is omitted.

“ An act for repeale of divers statutes concerning the natives of this kingdom of Ireland. Whereas in former times after the conquest of this realm by his majesties most royall progenitors kings of England, the natives of this realm of Irish blood being descended of those that did inhabit and possess this land before the said conquest, were for the most part in continuall hostility with the English, and with those that did descend of the English, and therefore the said Irish were held and accounted, and in divers statutes and records were termed and called Irish

enemies, and whereas in a parliament holden at Dublin in the tenth year of the reign of king Henry the sixth, an act was made intituled, an act that no person liege nor alien, shall take merchandize or things to be sold to faire, market or other place amongst the Irish enemies, &c. whereby it was enacted that no merchant nor other person liege nor alien, should use in time of peace nor warre, to any manner of faire, market or other place amongst the Irish enemies with merchandize or things to be sold, nor send them to them if it were not to acquit any prisoner of them that were the king's liege men, and if any liege man did the contrary, he should be holden and adjudged a felon, and that it should be lawfull for every liege man to arrest and take such merchants, and persons with their merchandize and things, and to send them to the next gaole, there to remain untill they should be delivered as law requireth, and the king to have one halfe of the said goodes, and he or they that should take them the other halfe, as by the said act more at large appeareth. And whereas also at the same parliament another act was made, intituled, an act that every liege man shall take the Irish conversant as espialls amongst the English, and make of them as of the king's enemies, whereby it was enacted that it should be lawfull for every liege man to take all manner of Irish enemies which in time of peace and truce should come and converse amongst the English lieges, to spy their secrecies, force, wayes, and subtilties, and to make of them as of the king's enemies, which

divers savings and other clauses in the same act contained as by the same act more fully and at large appeareth. And whereas also at a parliament held in the nine and twentieth year of the reign of king Henry the eight, an act was made entituled, an act against marrying or fostering with or to Irishmen. And furthermore whereas at a parliament holden in the eleventh year of the reign of queen Elizabeth an act was made, entituled an act prohibiting any Irish lord or captain of this realm to foster to any of the lords of the same realm, whereby it was enacted that no lord nor captain of the Irish of Ireland should from henceforth foster to any earl, viscount, baron or lord of the same realm, and that what Irish lord or captain soever that from thenceforth should receive or take to foster the child, mulier or bastard of any of the said earls, viscounts, barons, or lords, the same should be deemed and adjudged high treason in the taker, and also felony in the giver, according to the taxation and discretion of the lord deputy, governour or governours, and councill of this realm for the time being, as by the same act appeareth. Forasmuch as the cause of the said difference and of making the said laws and statutes doth now cease, in that all the natives and inhabitants of this kingdom without difference and distinction are taken into his majesties gracious protection, and doe now live under one law as dutifull subjects of our sovereign lord and monarch, by meanes whereof, a perfect agreement is and ought to be settled betwixt all his majesties subjects in this realm. And

for as much as there is no better meanes to settle peace and tranquillity in this kingdome, being now inhabited with many worthy persons born in his majesties said severall kingdoms, then by abolishing and abrogating of the said severall laws, and by giving them free liberty to commerce and match together, that so they may grow into one nation, whereby there may be an utter oblivion and extinguishment of all former differences, and discords betwixt them. Be it enacted by the king's most excellent majesty the lords spirituall and temporal, and commons in this present parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that all the said acts and statutes, and every clause and sentence in them and every of them contained shall from the end of this present session of parliament for ever be utterly and thoroughly repealed, frustrated, annihilated, and made void to all intents and purposes."

The act of Philip and Mary, which prohibited the retaining or marrying with the Scots, was also repealed.

A subsidy, which exceeded twenty thousand pounds, was also granted to his majesty. The wretched state of the kingdom, from the exterminating war of Elizabeth, is manifested by the extravagant assessment necessary to raise it. Every personal estate, of the value of three pounds and upwards, was taxed two shillings and eight pence in the pound; aliens twice as much. Real estates, of the value of twenty shillings and more, were rated at four shillings in the pound. With this

the sessions closed, and parliament unexpectedly dissolved, on the twenty-fourth of October, 1615.

The readiness with which this parliament entered into the views of his majesty, was so agreeable to James, that, in a letter addressed to the deputy, and ordered to be publicly read in the house, he said, " We now clearly perceive, that the difficult beginnings of our parliament there, were occasioned only by ignorance and mistakes, arising through the long disuse of parliaments there; and therefore we have cancelled the memory of them, and we are now so well pleased with this dutiful confirmation of theirs, that we do require you to assure them from us, that we hold our subjects of that kingdom in equal favour with those of our other kingdoms; and that we will be as careful to provide for their prosperous and flourishing estate, as we can be for the safety of our own person...And understanding that the bills of subsidies were, upon the first propounding received and passed, with such universal consent and chearfulness, that there seemed to arise an affectionate emulation between them, who should express most love and forwardness therein unto him; he took that evident demonstration of their dutiful zeal and affection, in such good part, that he commanded him to give them thanks in his name, and to let them know that he was much better pleased with the free manner of that present of their affections unto him, than if they had given him ten times the value of the money, with unwilling hearts." Sir John Everard then observed, " that as neither in queen

Elizabeth's time, nor in his then majesty's, any subsidies had been so regularly granted, there being no denial, he did, on the knees of his heart, humbly pray in behalf of his country, that the statute of the second of queen Elizabeth might be something moderated for a time; which being granted, if the king were willing to demand two, three or four subsidies, he doubted not of any denial hereafter." But vain were his solicitations, and even the representations of the commons; a general execution of the penal statutes was persevered in.

To keep the fifth day of November as a religious anniversary, in commemoration of Cecil's powder-plot, a bill was introduced by Sir Oliver St. John, who was peculiarly zealous against popery, but rejected; "the king not caring to do any thing," says Carte, "that would sour or alienate the minds of any part of his subjects."

Though the act against retaining or marrying with the Scots, was repealed in this parliament, yet it could not obtain the repeal of the odious statutes, which rendered the natives, whether of English or Irish race, incapable of holding certain offices in the state.

While the civil affairs were regulated in parliament, the clergy assembled, anno 1615, to frame a public confession of faith for the church of Ireland. In this convocation, at Dublin, Dr. James Usher, afterwards primate, who had "deeply imbibed the Calvinistical doctrines,"*

* Leland.

drew up a profession, that “ consisted of no fewer than one hundred and four articles, in which were included, almost literally, the nine articles agreed on at Lambeth, in the year 1595, and which were disapproved both by Elizabeth and James. So large a formulary could not but contain several minute decisions, and even dangerous expositions of what is generally revealed in the scriptures. His zeal against popery appeared by his concurrence with the French reformers, in pronouncing the pope to be Antichrist. And without any condescension to the sentiments of king James, he declared in one article, that the Lord’s day was to be wholly dedicated to the service of God. The convocation adopted his profession, and it was ratified by the lord deputy.”*

The catholics, on account of their greater number and opulence, had contributed more liberally to the abovementioned, and all other supplies, than all the rest of his majesty’s subjects in Ireland; in parliament, they zealously concurred in the granting of it; yet the penalties against them did not cease to be enforced. “ All the counsellors of law, who would not take the oath of supremacy, were put from pleading of causes in any of the four courts, or elsewhere, to speak for clients. Likewise such as were pensioners, that would not take the said oath, were discharged of their pensions.”† In consequence of which the commons addressed the deputy, “ that whereas the recusant lawyers were debarred from

* Leland. Hist. Ireland, B. IV. c. vii. p. 458.

† Desid. Curios. Hib. Vol. I. p. 320.

their practice, by special directions from his majesty: and forasmuch as the commons did find by experience, that the subjects of the realm did suffer no small prejudice in their causes, for want of learned counsel, especially at the assizes, that his lordship would be a means to his majesty, that such, and so many of the said lawyers might be restored to their practice, as his lordship in his judgement should think fit, for the dispatch of said causes." To which his lordship replied, "that the lords of the council in England had signified his majesty's pleasure for silencing them, until they had taken the oath (of supremacy); but that he would acquaint their lordships with what the commons had signified, and with their desire." But no redress was obtained; for in the ensuing session the same commons humbly addressed the lord deputy, to know "whether his lordship had received any answer touching the practice of the Irish lawyers; and prayed, that they might be, by his lordship's recommendation, again restored unto practice." To which we find no answer returned.

The severe treatment jurors experienced, is allowed by Chichester, who states, "that the justices of assize for the space of two or three years past (1613), had bound over divers juries to the star-chamber, (the proper court to punish jurors that will not find for the king upon good evidence,) for their refusing to present recusants upon the testimony of the witnesses, that they come not to church, according to the law. All which jurors have been punished in the star-

chamber, by fine and imprisonment; who, it is true, had no counsel allowed them, because they were proceeded against *ore tenus*, and upon their own confession."* "But is it in any degree credible, that men would confess their crimes in that cruel and arbitrary court, which were so severely and ignominiously punished, as by pillory, loss of ears, brand in the forehead, &c. besides fines and imprisonment?"†

Imprisonments, in consequence of excommunications, were also frequent. We find the commons intreating, "that his lordship would be pleased to release all those that lay in upon excommunications."‡ And "at the end of the session, eight Roman catholics, who had been excommunicated by the archbishop of Dublin for recusancy, and imprisoned, were released by the indulgence of parliament (some said by the mediation of bribes); but their joy on that account was short lived, and their release rather an illusion and an aggravation of their punishment; for without any crime, but perseverance in their religion, the same archbishop soon after excommunicated them a second time; on which they were again sent back to their long and loathsome confinement."§

That English tyranny might trample without restraint, they set up a state inquisition into the remaining landed property of both races indis-

* Desid. Curios. Hibern. Vol. I. p. 249.

† Curry. Hist. Rev. Civil Wars. B. II. c. viii.

‡ Comm. Journ. Vol. I. p. 47.

§ Analect. Sacra, p. 34.

criminally; and, in this unheard-of inquest, perjury, fraud, violence, torture, and generally the most flagrant injustice prevailed. While possessions, held by the oldest tenures in Europe, by prescriptive rights, as old, probably, as any in existence, were lawlessly ravished from the antient Scots, no murmurs from the colonists. They lent aid to that vast proscription. They fancied, as the parliament of the Pale expressed it, in the second of Elizabeth, on passing the attainder of the North, that the downfall of their more antient countrymen would strengthen them. Alas! when those deluded loyalists felt the severest retaliation, not from those whom they assisted to oppress, but from their base employers, then the uproar. Then cried they out, on the ingratitude of the mother country, appealing to the tried loyalty of centuries, attested in chronicles of blood, in vain. They received the just reward of their zealous labours, to enslave the majority of their countrymen, and, of course, to debilitate and villify the whole kingdom. Tyranny oppressed them with contempt and scorn. The libellers of Ireland, while they strenuously endeavour to justify the flagitious robberies of English government on the Milesians, under colour of the fictitious plots, devised to palliate them, out of sympathy with the colonists, acting hitherto a treacherous part towards their country and posterity, allow something to these complaints.

“ James, in the pursuit of his favourite object, had sometimes recourse to claims, which the old

natives deemed obsolete and unjust. The seizure of those lands, whose possessors had lately meditated rebellion, and fled from the sentence of the law, produced little clamour or murmuring. But when he recurred to the concessions made to Henry II. to invalidate the titles derived from a possession of some centuries, the apparent severity had its full effect on those, who were not acquainted with the refinements of law, and not prepossessed in the favour of the equity of such refinements, when employed to divest them of their ancient property.

“ It is true, that in all distributions of lands forfeited, or adjudged, or resigned to the crown, the king directed a provision for the widows and sons of chieftains, for the lesser as well as the greater claimants: and what they wanted in extent of land was compensated by the firmness and advantages of their new titles: yet such concessions could not always conquer the reluctance of the possessors to make a voluntary surrender. When they were assured that those who refused such compliance must expect justice without favour, the alarming purport of this declaration was fully understood: nor was it even in those days generally acknowledged as a just and necessary severity, that juries, who refused to find a title in the crown, were frequently censured and fined in the castle-chamber.

“ Those regulations, in which the royal equity and wisdom appeared to most advantage, were in many instances neglected and contemned. The vigilance of lord Chichester had not prevented

abuses even in Ulster, where the plantations were carried on with the greatest care and regularity. Contrary to the express restriction of their patents, undertakers alienated their allotments by private contract; so that they, who had already their just proportion of lands, engrossed still more, without regard to those limitations prescribed by the king, in order to prevent an enormous extent of property, and of consequence a dangerous degree of power. In other districts, the planters had not only neglected to perform their covenants, but the commissioners appointed to distribute the lands scandalously abused their trusts, and by fraud or violence deprived the natives of those possessions which the king had reserved for them. Some indeed were suffered to enjoy a small pittance of such reservation; others were totally ejected. In the manuscripts of bishop Stearne we find, that in the small county of Longford, twenty-five of one sept were all deprived of their estates, without the least compensation, or any means of subsistence assigned to them. The resentment of such sufferers were in some cases exasperated by finding their lands transferred to hungry adventurers, who had no services to plead; and sometimes to those who had been rebels and traitors. Neither the actors nor the objects of such grievances were confined to one religion: the most zealous in the service of government and the most peaceable conformists were involved in the ravages of avarice and rapine, without any distinction of principles or professions.

“ The interested assiduity of the king’s creatures in scrutinizing the titles to those lands which had not yet been found or acknowledged to belong to the crown, was, if possible, still more detestable. The lands granted to the original English adventurers and their immediate successors, had, in the confusion of several centuries, suffered considerable changes and alienations. Great men encroached on each other, and got possession of domains not included in their patents: the lands were lost, recovered, and lost again in the natural vicissitudes of time and public commotion; so as to occasion great confusion of titles. He who could not establish the right of his possessions clearly and indisputably, lay at the mercy of the crown, and had no way but to compound on the best terms he could obtain, and to get a new grant of his estate.

“ Where no grant appeared, or no descent or conveyance in pursuance of it could be proved, the land was immediately adjudged to belong to the crown. All grants of the crown, from the first year of Edward II. to the tenth of Henry VII. had been resumed by parliament; and the lands of all absentees, and of all that had been expelled by the Irish, were, by various acts, again vested in the crown, which impeached almost every grant of lands antecedent to that period. Nor did later grants afford a full security. If any former grant subsisted at the time when they were made; if the patents, passed in Ireland were not exactly agreeable to the Fiant; if both did not accurately correspond with the original

warrant transmitted from England, if any defect appeared in expressing the tenure, any mistake in point of form, any advantage to be taken from general savings and clauses in the patents, or any exceptions to be made in law, which is sufficiently fruitful in affording them, there was an end of the grant and of the estate which it conveyed. Thus was every man's enjoyment of his possessions precarious and disputable, at a time when commissioners* were awarded to enquire by what title he enjoyed them.

“ These inquisitions, indeed, were at first proposed in cases where it was sufficiently notorious, that the possessors could have no legal title to their lands: where they had expelled old English colonies, whose heirs were not discoverable, and the lands of course escheated to the crown; where, if not violent intruders, they had neglected to take out patents, or to go through those forms of law necessary to make them legal possessors, or had notoriously violated those stipulations, on which their grants were made. But interested and officious agents soon learned to strain this objection of failure in covenants to a

* In the year 1611, on the seizure of the county of Wexford, when upon a commission to enquire into his majesty's title to that country, “ the jury offered their verdict of *ignoramus* to the king's title, the commissioners refused to accept it, and bound the jury over to appear before them in the exchequer court, where, when five of them still refused to find the title in the king; the commissioners committed them to prison, and they were afterwards censured in the castle chamber, for refusing to join with their fellows to find his majesty's title.”—*Desid. Cur. Hib.* vol. i. p. 372.

dangerous pitch of rigour. In several antient grants, there had been a reservation of rents to the crown; during long intervals of commotion, the king's revenue had not been, nor could be, regularly collected; nor had such rents been put in charge by his officers, for ages. Acquittances were now demanded; it was impossible to produce them: and the failure was pleaded as sufficient to overthrow the fairest titles.

“ It was an age of project and adventure: men's minds were particularly possessed with a passion for new discoveries, and planting of countries. They, who were too poor, or too spiritless to engage in distant adventures, courted fortune in Ireland. Under pretence of improving the king's revenue in a country where it was far less than the charge of government, they obtained commissions of enquiry into defective titles, and grants of concealed lands and rents belonging to the crown; the great benefit of which was generally to accrue to the projector, whilst the king was contented with an inconsiderable proportion of the concealment, or a small advance of rent. Discoverers were every where busily employed in finding out flaws in men's titles to their estates. The old pipe-rolls were searched to find the original rents with which they had been charged; the patent-rolls in the Tower of London were ransacked for the antient grants; no means of industry or devices of craft were left untried, to force the possessors to accept of new grants at an advanced rent. In general, men were either conscious of the defects in their titles, or alarmed at

the trouble and expence of a contest with the crown; or fearful of the issue of such a contest, at a time, and in a country, where the prerogative was highly strained, and strenuously supported by the judges. These enquiries, therefore, commonly ended in a new composition, made at as cheap a rate, and as easy an advance of rent as the possessors could obtain. Yet there are not wanting proofs of the most iniquitous practices, of hardened cruelty, of vile perjury, and scandalous subornation, employed to despoil the fair and unoffending proprietor of his inheritance.”*

In the maritime parts of Leinster, between Dublin and Waterford, for ages possessed by powerful Irish septs, sixty-six thousand acres were seized upon, as the property of the crown; sixteen thousand five hundred of which, that lay nearest to the sea, James reserved for an English colony, and disposed of the remainder under regulations and covenants similar to the Ulster plantation.

In Leix and Offaly, Longford, Leitrim and Westmeath, three hundred and eighty-five thousand acres were confiscated, under the pretence of rebellion, and of having been antiently possessed by English settlers, long expelled.†

Chichester had not completed this plantation, when he was recalled, and sir Oliver St. John succeeded, in 1616.

* Leland. Hist. Ireland, B. IV. c. viii. p. 466.

† Carte's Ormond.

This new governor, peculiarly zealous against popery, immediately proceeded to a vigorous execution of the penal laws. The regular clergy he banished by proclamation; and seized on the liberties and revenues of the city of Waterford, whose magistrates, in succession, had refused to take the oath of supremacy. He caused presentments to be made of those who did not attend at church; and ecclesiastical censures were severely executed in every part of the kingdom. Those who lay under them were thrown into jails; even their dead bodies did not escape; they were denied christian burial, and their corpses thrown into holes dug in the highways.*

Such were the consequences of the censures of ecclesiastical courts, which “were often managed by a chancellor that bought his place, and so thought he had a right to all the profits he could make out of it; and their whole business seemed to be nothing but oppression and extortion, The solemnest and sacredest of all church censures, which was excommunication, went about in so sordid and base a manner, that all regard to it, as it was a spiritual censure, was lost; and the effects it had in law made it be cried out upon, as a most intolerable piece of tyranny. The officers of the courts thought they had a sort of right to oppress the natives; and that all was well got that was wrung from them. Of which primate Usher was so sensible, that he told archbishop Laud, ‘ such was then the venality of all

* *Analecta Sacra.*

things sacred in Ireland, that he was afraid to mention any thing about them.”*

At length Sir Oliver, who had carried on this violent persecution uncontrouled, laid claim to lands, in the possession of some leading members of the state, as belonging to the church. Their complaints were conveyed to the throne. A new deputy, Lord Faulkland, was nominated; and Sir Oliver St. John, at the repeated instances of the Irish council, in 1621, was obliged to resign his authority immediately to two lords justices, who were vested with the administration till lord Faulkland's arrival. He was soon after created viscount Grandison of Ireland, baron Trogose of Highworth in England, lord high treasurer of Ireland, and privy counsellor of both kingdoms.

The removal of Sir Oliver, while it encouraged the Roman catholics, who avowed their religious principles with less reserve, and the deep sense with which they felt the hardships of their situation, alarmed the persecuting Puritans. Primate Usher was appointed to preach before lord Falkland on his arrival. ‘He beareth not the sword in vain’ he chose for his text, condemned a relaxation of the penal statutes; but was under the necessity of preaching an explanatory discourse, in which restraints to preserve a decent reserve were alone recommended.

The army, which, at the accession of James, amounted to twenty thousand, during this war against the religion and property both of the

* Burnet's Life of bishop Bedell,

English and Irish race, was reduced to seventeen hundred and thirty-five foot, and two hundred and twelve horse; which inconsiderable number, in 1622, were further reduced to thirteen hundred and fifty foot, divided into twenty-seven companies, of fifty each, and seven troops of horse, amounting to about two hundred; and these in such a condition, that they could have been of little use, had they been called out to service. The captains, privy-counsellors, men of the greatest property and influence, secured their own pay, by stopping the rents due by them to the crown, and made the privates compound with them annually for theirs, at a third or fourth part of what was their due by the establishment. The companies were incomplete, and dispersed in small parties through the estates of their officers, to cultivate their lands, or discharge the menial duties of their houses. The soldier of fortune shared all the miseries of a long arrear of pay with the private centinel; and, instead of restraining his men within the bounds of discipline, concurred with them in those outrages and oppressions, by which they endeavoured to supply their necessities.”*

The revenue was considerably short of the charge of government. The customs had increased in the present reign, from £50 to £9700, wardships and tenures yielded £10,000; yet the annual charge exceeded the revenue £16,000. The commissioners, sent from England, had re-

* Carte's Ormond. Leland.

course to the most violent and unjustifiable means to remedy this deficiency. Foiled in their attempt to abolish useless places and pensions, held by the most considerable persons in the kingdom, they proposed to resume the lands granted to cities and corporations; the stipulations in the grants not having been exactly fulfilled. Equally unsuccessful in this, it being deemed on reflection too hazardous to attempt, they turned to Connaught, to divest the inhabitants of that entire province of their patrimonies. "The project recommended to the king, was nothing less than that of establishing an extensive plantation in the province of Connaught, similar to that of Ulster; and in his rage of reformation it was most favourably received. The lords and gentlemen of Connaught, including the county of Clare, on their composition made with Sir John Perrot, in the reign of Elizabeth, had indeed surrendered their estates to the crown, but had generally neglected to enrol their surrenders, and to take out their letters patent. This defect was supplied by king James, who, in his thirteenth year, issued a commission to receive surrenders of their estates; which he re-conveyed by new patents, to them and their heirs, to be holden of the crown, by knight's service, as of the castle of Athlone. Their surrenders were made, their patents received the great seal, but, by neglect of the officers, neither was enrolled in chancery, although £3000 had been disbursed for the enrolments. Advantage was now taken of this involuntary omission. Their titles were pronounced defective,

and their lands adjudged to be still vested in the crown. The proprietors were justly alarmed; pathetically represented the cruelty and injustice of depriving a great number of peaceable and loyal subjects of their estates, by a mere nicety of law, in derogation of the faith and honour of the king's broad seal. The omission of enrolment was not imputable to them. An act of state had, in lord Grandison's government, declared them confirmed in their possessions, for which they had paid large sums into the exchequer: and were allowed to have ever discharged their annual compositions with remarkable punctuality. The project of a great western plantation was not only difficult and complicated, but dangerous to be attempted, in a province strongly situated, inhabited by an active and spirited people, abounding in idle swordsmen; who, if driven to extremities, might at once rush into the most desperate courses, that pride, resentment and necessity could suggest. But instead of relying on the equity of the king, or his fears of future danger, the lords and gentlemen, whose lands were threatened, wisely contrived to suspend the alarming project, by addressing themselves to his immediate necessities. They entered into a treaty with their provincial lord president at Athlone, and with the state at Dublin. They offered to purchase a new confirmation of their patents, by doubling their present annual composition: and as their tenure exempted them from suing out their liveries, or taking the oath of supremacy, they likewise agreed to pay a fine of ten thousand

pounds, computed to be as much as the king could gain by a plantation. The proposal was received with due attention. James had, about this time, broke with Spain, and engaged in a war for the recovery of the Palatinate.* The influence of Spain upon Ireland was dreaded; James, to ingratiate himself with his Catholic Majesty, when eager to press the marriage of his son Charles with the infanta of Spain, having allowed the Spanish court to complete their Irish regiments with levies raised in Ireland by the exiled Irish officers. His death, however, interrupted the treaty, and suspended the plantation.

Anno 1625 died James I., not without some suspicion of his having been poisoned by his favourite, the duke of Buckingham, on whom he heaped dignities and favours, merely on account of his handsome face. Few kings have been so differently misrepresented by historians, according to the different bias of party. Though the son of the beautiful, unfortunate Mary Stuart and Lord Darnly, reckoned the handsomest couple of the age, he was not distinguished by personal beauty. Endowed with good natural parts, guided by the tuition of the celebrated Buchanan, he learned to speak several languages fluently, and write with ease on different subjects, especially controversy. The Puritans, a sect whom he abhorred as enemies to monarchy and the hierarchy, branded him with a secret inclination to popery. Because he promised toleration

* Carte. Leland.

catholics before his arrival in England, and, after his accession, declared himself their protector, promoting them to honors and offices. Because penal laws, in his reign, were not as rigidly enforced as puritanic bigotry required; which would allow no man a good protestant, unless a violent persecutor of popery. Because he boasted to catholic princes, that he would suffer no more penal laws to be decreed, or the execution of those already passed. His declarations, on all occasions, that he found nothing amiss in the catholic religion, but the exorbitant power claimed by the pope over princes, and his consenting to have his children reared catholics until the thirteenth year of their age. Whatever indulgence he might have shewn to his English catholic subjects, he surrendered the Irish to the merciless inflictions of penal laws, enforced by their bitter enemies, the Puritans, ordering the penal laws to be put in force, while thanking them for their liberal supplies. Whatever knowledge he possessed availed him little, in the management of public affairs, which he rather conducted on narrow principles of puerile craft, than on the steady solid maxims of a statesman. He was always at variance with parliaments about his prerogative, which that body was constantly endeavouring to curtail, but knew not how to preserve it with the deep policy of his predecessor. She always maintained a stately reserve, and solemn distance, with the commons, issuing her mandates to them with oracular gravity, as things above their sphere, concerning which she forbade

speech-making, under pain of fine and imprisonment. James, on the contrary, vain of his tongue and pen, condescended to argue the matter with his subjects, in set speeches and essays; contrary to the mysterious regimen of courts, whose chief argument with subjects lies in cannon law. Notwithstanding his high notions, and uniform defence of his prerogative, Elizabeth, by keeping a dignified distance, imperious air of reserve, a few threats and vigorous measures steadily followed up, knew how to curb the puritanic levelling spirit, that now and then broke out in parliament, better than James, with his impolitic declamations, pedantic essays, and injudicious familiarities, brought so low as jests of buffoonery. Altogether he was rather a weak than wicked man. Dissimulation was one weak feature in his character. Want of judgment in the choice of friends, whom he caressed not for their merit or public utility, but for some frivolous shew of person. A friend to toleration, he had not spirit to resist the persecuting rage of new fanatical sects, of whose danger to the monarchy, and to his own family, he seems to have been sensible. But, of all his subjects, the unfortunate Irish suffered most from misgovernment. While he boasted his descent from the renowned monarchs of Ireland, professing on that score much friendship for them. While he thanked them for their loyalty and liberal grants, he packed their parliament, creating at once forty rotten boroughs, for the very purpose of framing and enforcing pains and penalties on their consciences,

and setting up a state inquisition to bereave them of their estates. But the plunder of the northern Irish, on the pretence of a sham plot, fabricated by himself and his minister, was one of the most unconscionable acts of perfidy and violence that have ever been recorded. The consequences of that disgraceful violation of law and treaty, that barefaced breach of the solemn compacts that hold human society together, making protection and obedience reciprocal duties, contributed to overwhelm his son and the monarchy, as the reader shall see in the sequel. To that unfortunate son he left a crown of thorns, and the legacy of bad example, which was closely copied.

A. D. 1625, Charles the First ascended the throne. At war with the two most powerful kings in Europe; at variance with the English parliament, who, after engaging him in one war, and approving of the other, it being in support of protestantism, yet refused him supplies, except on hard and dishonorable terms;* urgently assailed by the Irish council, composed of the new English, fraught with the puritanic spirit, and full of horrors and fears of popery; he increased the forces in Ireland to five thousand foot, and five hundred horse. Unable to supply the necessarily additional expence, the king, without scruple, resorted for the present to prerogative. He ordered this army to be quartered on the different counties and towns of Ireland, who were to maintain them in turn, for three months at a time,

* Sir Edward Walker's Historical Discourses.

with money, cloaths, and victuals. To reconcile the people to an imposition so extraordinary and so severe, letters were addressed by his deputy to the several communities, recommending a cheerful submission, promising, that the usual composition should be suspended, and that the king should grant other graces, which should amply repay this their extraordinary recompence.*

This severe imposition was not only borne without opposition; but the catholics gave the deputy assurances, that if some indulgence were granted to those of their religion, a voluntary contribution might be obtained, for the maintenance of the king's army. Those of the protestant party, who had their grievances to be redressed, and their apprehensions quieted, concurred in these assurances.* They were favourably received. A grand meeting of the principal nobility and gentry, in which the popish party was by far the more numerous, assembled in the castle of Dublin: they offered large contributions to purchase security to their lands, and a suspension of the penal statutes.† Lord Faulkland, far from discouraging their overtures, ad-

* Leland. Hist. Ireland. Vol. II. p. 481, 482.

† The toleration they desired was no more than some respite from the oppressions and extortions of the ecclesiastical courts, and to have all proceedings against them in these courts, for religion, suspended; to be released from those exorbitant sums which they were obliged to pay for their christenings and marriages; and particularly, to have the extravagant surplice-fees of the clergy, and the extraordinary warrants for lying them, abolished.—Walker's Hist. Discourses.

vised them to send agents into England, to make a tender of their dutiful services to the king, and to submit the grievances and inconveniencies to which they were exposed, to his gracious consideration.*

But the protestant clergy unfurled the standard of opposition. "All of them were seriously averse to popery, many even to a degree of rancour, imbibed among the English and the Scottish puritans. On the plantations made in the reign of James, the new colonists had been supplied with teachers principally from Scotland. They formed their churches on the presbyterian model; and many refused to accept episcopal ordination. To quiet such scruples, the bishops, by the approbation of Usher, their learned metropolitan, consented to ordain them to the ministry, without adhering strictly to the established form, and to admit some of their brethren of the Scottish presbytery to a participation of their office. Thus these Scottish teachers enjoyed churches and tythes, without using the liturgy, and by zeal and diligence in their ministry gained a considerable degree of respect and authority. Such men clamoured loudly against the horrid design of selling the truth, and establishing idolatry for a price: their brethren of other provinces, who had generally some portion of the same spirit, readily united in the clamour."* Usher assembled several of the Irish bishops, in his own house, "to bear their testimony against the ungodly conces-

* Leland. Neal's History of the Puritans.

sion to popery meditated by the state. In the fervour of their zeal, these prelates unanimously subscribed a protestation,"* drawn up by primate Usher, which they styled,

" The judgement of the archbishops and bishops of Ireland, concerning toleration of religion.

" The religion of the papists is superstitious and idolatrous; their faith and doctrine, erroneous and heretical, their church, in respect of both, apostatical. To give them therefore a toleration, or to consent that they may freely exercise their religion, and professe their faith and doctrine, is a grievous sinne, and that in two respects.

" For 1. It is to make ourselves accessory not onely to their superstitions, idolatries, heresies, and in a word, to all the abominations of popery; but also (which is a consequent of the former) to the perdition of the seduced people, which perish in the deluge of the catholick apostasie.

" 2. To grant them toleration, in respect of any money to be given, or contribution to be made by them, is to set religion to sale, and with it, the soules of the people whom Christ our Saviour hath redeemed with his most precious blood. And as it is a great sinne, so also a matter of most dangerous consequence. The consideration whereof, we commend to the wise and judicious. Beseeching the zealous God of truth

* Leland.

to make them who are in authority, zealous of God's glory, and of the advancement of true religion; zealous, resolute and courageous against all popery, superstition, and idolatry. Amen.

“ Ja. Armachanus, Mal. Caschellen, Anth. Medensis, Tho. Hernes. & Laghlin. Ro. Dunensis, &c. Georg Derens. Richard, Corke, Cloyne, Rosses. Andr. Alachadens. Tho. Kilmore & Ardagh. Theo. Dromore. Michael Waterford and Lysmore. Fran. Lymerick.

“ Conferred and agreed upon Novemb. 26, 1626.”

“ This judgement of the bishops Dr. George Downham, bishop of Derry, at the next meeting of the assembly, April 23, 1627, published at Christ-church, before the lord deputy and council, in the midst of his sermon. The preamble he made to it (which I had from his own notes) was thus: ‘ Are not many among us, for gain and outward respects, willing and ready to consent to a toleration of false religion, and thereby making themselves guilty of a great offence, in putting to sale not only their own souls, but also the souls of others. But what is to be thought of toleration of religion, I will not deliver my own private opinion, but the judgment of the archbishops and bishops of this kingdom, which I think good to publish unto you, that whatsoever shall happen, the world may know, that we were far from consenting to those favours which the papists expect.’....The lord primate (Usher) the next lord's day preached before the same

auditory; the text was, 'Love not the world, nor the things that are in the world;' when he made the like application with the bishop, rebuking such, who for worldly ends, like Judas, sell Christ for thirty pieces of silver.... The judgment of the bishops prevailed so much with the protestants, that the proposals were drove on very heavily; and after much agitation of things, the lord deputy, finding the discontents between both parties encreasing, desired this lord primate to sum up the state of things, and to move them to an absolute grant of some competency to the complying with the king's necessities, without any such conditions; with which, upon their answer, he would cease moving any further."*

In a vehement, artful and pathetic, but unsuccessful address, to the grand assembly, before the deputy, in the castle of Dublin, April 30, 1627, Usher bears ample testimony to the ravages of Elizabeth, and the firm loyalty of the popish pale, so unrelentingly persecuted.

"My lord, the resolution of these gentlemen in denying to contribute unto the supplying of the army, sent hither for their defence, doth put me in mind of the philosopher's observation, 'That such as have respect to a few things, are easily misled;' the present pressure which they sustain, by the imposition of the soldiers, and the desire they have to be eased of that burden, doth so wholly possess their minds, that they have only an eye to the freeing themselves from

* Bernard's Life of Dr. James Usher.

that incumbrance, without looking at all to the desolations that are like to come upon them by a long and a heavy war, which the having of an army in readiness might be a means to have prevented. The lamentable effects of our last wars in this kingdom doth yet freshly stick in our memories: neither can we so soon forget the depopulation of our land, when besides the combustions of war, the extremity of famine grew so great, that the very women in some places by the wayside, have surprised the men that rode by, to feed themselves with the flesh of the horse of the rider: and that now again here is a storm towards, wheresoever it will light, every wise man will easily foresee, which if we be not careful to meet with in time, our state may prove irrecoverable, when it will be too late to think of, Had I wist.

“The dangers that now threaten us, are partly from abroad, and partly from home; abroad, we are now at odds with two of the most potent princes in Christendom, and to both which, in former times, the discontented persons in this country have had recourse heretofore, proffering the kingdom itself unto them, if they would undertake the conquest of it: for it is not unknown unto them that look into the search of those things, that in the days of king Henry the eighth, the earl of Desmond made such an offer of this kingdom to the French king, (the instrument whereof yet remains upon record in the court at Paris) and the bishop of Rome afterwards transferred the title of all our kingdoms

unto Charles the fifth, which by new grants was confirmed unto his son Philip, in the time of queen Elizabeth, with a resolution to settle this crown upon the Spanish infanta: which donations of the popes, howsoever in themselves they are of no value, yet will they serve for a fair colour to a potent pretender, who is able to supply by the power of the sword, whatsoever therein may be thought defective. Hereunto may we add that of late in Spain, at the very same time when the treaty of the match was in hand, there was a book published with great approbation there, by one of this country birth, Philip O'Sullivan, wherein the Spaniard is taught, that the ready way to establish his monarchy, (for that is the only thing he mainly aimeth at, and is plainly there confessed) is, first to set upon Ireland, which being quickly obtained, the conquest of Scotland first, of England next, then of the Low countries, is foretold with great facility will follow after:

“ Neither have we more cause in this regard to be afraid of a foreign invasion, than to be jealous of a domestic rebellion. Where, lest I be mistaken, as your lordships have been lately, I must of necessity put a difference betwixt the inhabitants of this nation; some of them are descended of the race of the antient English, or otherwise hold their estates from the crown, and have possessions of their own to stick unto, who easily may be trusted against a foreign invader, although they differ from the state in matter of religion: for proof of which fidelity in this kind,

I need go no farther then the late wars in the time of the earl of Tyrone, wherein they were assaulted with as powerful temptations to move them from their loyalty, as possibly hereafter can be presented unto them; for, at that time not only the king of Spain did confederate himself with the rebels, and landed his forces here for their assistance, but the bishop of Rome also, with his breeves, and bulls, solicited our nobility and gentry to revolt from their obedience to the queen, declaring that the English did fight against the Catholic religion, and ought to be oppugned as much as the Turks, imparting the same favours to such as should set upon them, that he doth unto such as fight against the Turks; and finally, promising unto them that the God of peace would tread down their enemies under their feet speedily. And yet for all the pope's promises, and threatenings, which were also seconded by a declaration of the divines of Salamanca and Valledolid, not only the lords and gentlemen did constantly continue their allegiance unto the queen, but also were encouraged so to do by the priests of the pale, that were of the popish profession: who were therefore vehemently taxed by the traitor O'Sullivan, for exhorting them to follow the queen's side: which he is pleased to term *Insanam et venenosam doctrinam et tartareum dogma*; a mad and venomous doctrine, and a hellish opinion. But besides these, there are a great number of Irish, who either bear a secret grudge against the English planted among them, or, having nothing at all

to lose, upon the first occasion, are apt to join with any foreign invader; for we have not used that policy in our plantations, that wise states have used in former times. They, when they settled new colonies in any place, did commonly translate the antient inhabitants to other dwellings. We have brought new planters into the land, and have left the old inhabitants to shift for themselves; who being strong in body, and daily increasing in number, and seeing themselves deprived of their means and maintenance, which they and their ancestors have formerly enjoyed, will undoubtedly be ready when any occasion is offered, to disturb our quiet; whether then we cast our eyes abroad, or look at home, we see our danger is very great.

“ Neither may you, my lords, and gentlemen that differ from us in point of religion, imagine, that the community of profession will exempt you more than us from the danger of a common enemy. Whatsoever you may expect from a foreigner, you may conjecture by the answer which the duke of Medina Sidonia gave in this case in 88; that his sword knew no difference between a catholic and a heretic, but that he came to make way for his master: and what kindness you may look for from the countrymen that join with them, you may judge, as well by the carriage which they ordinarily use towards you and yours, both in the court and in the colleges abroad; as by the advice not long since presented by them unto the council of Spain, wherein they would not have so much as the

Irish priests and jesuits, that are descended of English blood to be trusted, but would have you and all yours to be accounted enemies to the designs of Spain. In the declaration published about the beginning of the insurrection of James Fitz-Morice in the south, the rebels professed, it was no part of their meaning to subvert honorable Anglorum solium; their quarrel was only against the person of queen Elizabeth and her government: but now the case is otherwise, the translating of the throne of the English to the power of a foreigner, is the thing that mainly is intended, and the re-establishing of the Irish in their antient possessions, which by the valour of our ancestors were gained from them.

“ This you may assure yourself, *manet altâ mente repostum*, and makes you more to be hated of them than any other of the English nation whatsoever. The danger therefore being thus common to us all, it stands us upon to join our best helps for the avoiding of it; only the manner how this may be effected is in question. It was wont to be said *Iniquum petas, ut æquum feras*, and such perhaps might be the intent of the project the other day propounded unto you; but now I observe the distaste you have conceived against that hath so far possessed you, that hardly can you be drawn to listen to any equal motion. The exceptions taken against the project, are partly general, made by all, partly special, that toucheth only some particulars: of the former there are two; the quantity of the sum demanded, and the indefiniteness of the time, which is unli-

mitted. For the proportion required for the maintenance of five thousand foot and five hundred horse, you alledge to be so great, and your means so small, that in undertaking that which you are no ways able to perform, you should but delude his majesty, and disappoint the army of their expected pay. And although the sum required were far less, and for a time able to be borne by you; yet are you fearful that the payment being continued for some number of years, may afterwards be continued as a constant revenue to his majesty's exchequer, with which perpetual burden you are unwilling to charge your posterity.

“ The exceptions of the second kind are taken against the grants annexed unto the former demands, the granting whereof seemed rather to hinder than further the service, as not so agreeing with the rules of equity. For first, some have the full benefits of the grants, and have their charge little augmented, as the countries which pay composition-rents, which by those grants, during the time of the new payments are suspended. Secondly, others that have the charge of the payment imposed upon them to the full, are not partakers at all of the benefit of the grants, as the British planted in the six escheated counties of Ulster. Thirdly, such as are most forward to further his majesty's service, and to contribute with the most, are troubled in conscience for yielding thereto upon the terms proposed, especially for that condition, whereby the execution of the statute against recusants is offered to be forborne;

“ Wherein if some of my brethren, the bishops have been thought to have shewed themselves more forward than wise, in preaching publicly against this kind of toleration; I hope the great charge laid upon them by yourselves in the parliament, wherein that statute was enacted, will plead their excuse. For there, the lords temporal, and all the commons, do in God’s name earnestly require and charge all archbishops and bishops, and other ordinaries, that they shall endeavour themselves to the utmost of their knowledge, that the due and true execution of this statute may be had throughout their diocesses; and charged, as they will answer it before God, for such evils and plagues as almighty God might justly punish his people, for neglecting these good and wholesome laws. So that if in this case they had holden their tongues, they might have been censured little better than atheists, and made themselves accessory to the drawing down of God’s heavy vengeance upon the people;

“ But if for these and such like causes, the former project will not be admitted, we must not therefore think ourselves discharged from taking farther care to provide for our safeties. Other consultations must be had, and other courses thought upon, which need not be liable to the like exceptions. Where the burden is borne in common, and the aid required to be given to the prince by his subjects that are of different judgments in religion; it stands not with the ground of common reason, that such a condition should be annexed unto the gift, as must of necessity

deter the one party from giving at all, upon such terms as are repugnant to their consciences. As therefore on the one side, if we desire that the recusants should join with us in granting of a common aid ; we should not put in the condition of executing the statute, which we are sure they would not yield unto ; so on the other side, if they will have us to join with them in the like contribution, they should not require the condition of suspending the statute to be added, which we in conscience cannot yield unto. The way will be then freely to grant unto his majesty, what we give, without all manner of condition that may seem unequal unto any side, and to refer unto his own sacred breast, how far he will be pleased to extend or abridge his favours ; of whose lenity, in forbearing the executing of the statute, our recusants have found such experience, that they cannot expect a greater liberty, by giving any thing that is demanded, than now already they do freely enjoy.

“ As for the fear that this voluntary contribution may in time be made a matter of necessity, and imposed as a perpetual charge upon posterity, it may easily be holpen with such a clause as we find added in the grant of an aid made by the pope’s council, anno 11 Hen. III. out of the ecclesiastical profits of this land, *quod non debet trahi in consuetudinem*, of which kinds of grants, many other examples of later memory might be produced : and as for the proportion of the sum, which you thought to be so great in the former proposition, it is my lord’s desire, that you should

signify unto him, what you think you are well able to bear, and what yourselves will be content voluntarily to proffer. To alledge, as you have done, that you are not able to bear so great a charge as was demanded, may stand with some reason; but to plead an inability to give any thing at all, is neither agreeable to reason or duty.

“ You say, you are ready to serve the king as your ancestors did heretofore with your bodies, and lives; as if the supply of the king’s wants with monies were a thing unknown to our forefathers. But if you will search the pipe-rowles, you shall find the names of those who contributed to king Henry III. for a matter that did less concern the subjects of this kingdom; than the help that is now demanded, namely for the marrying of his sister to the emperor. In the records of the same king kept in England, we find his letters patents directed hither into Ireland, for levying of money to help to pay his debts unto Lewis, the son of the king of France. In the rolles of Gasconie, we find the like letter directed by king Edward the second unto the gentlemen and merchants of Ireland, of whose names there is a list there set down to give him aid in his expedition into Aquitaine, and for defence of his land (which is now the thing in question): we find an ordinance likewise made in the time of Edward the third, for the personal taking of them that lived in England, and held lands and tenements in Ireland.

“ Nay, in this case you must give me leave as

a divine to tell you plainly, that to supply the king with means, for the necessary defence of your country, is not a thing left to your own discretion, either to do, or not to do, but a matter of duty, which in conscience you stand bound to perform. The apostle Rom. 13. having affirmed, that we must be subject to the higher powers, not only for wrath, but for conscience sake; adds this as a reason to confirm it, for, for this cause you pay tribute also; as if the denying of such payment, could not stand with conscionable subjection. Thereupon he infers this conclusion, Render therefore to all their due; tribute to whom tribute, custom to whom custom is due. Agreeable to that known lesson which he had learned of our Saviour, Render unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsars, and unto God the things which are Gods. Where you may observe, that as to withhold from God the things which are Gods, man is said to be a robber of God, whereof he himself thus complaineth in case of subtracting of tithes and oblations: so to deny a supply to Cæsar of such means as are necessary for the support of his kingdom, can be accounted no less than a robbing of him of that which is his due, which I wish you seriously to ponder, and to think better of, yielding something to this present necessity, that we may not return from you an undutiful answer, which may justly be displeasing to his majesty.

“ A copy of which speech desired of him, by the lord deputy, was immediately transmitted into

England. But not prevailing with the assembly to yield any thing to the supply of the kings wants, it was dissolved.”*

The antichristian opposition of Usher and his brethren, supported by the remonstrance of the British house of commons, did not deter the Irish agents. They offered a free gift of one hundred and twenty thousand pounds, “ of which the catholics paid near two-thirds.”† “ The graces which they solicited in consequence of this extraordinary exertion of loyalty, were in some instances indeed favourable to recusants, but such as in general were evidently reasonable and equitable, calculated for the redress of those grievances which persons of all denominations had experienced, and tending to the peace and prosperity of the whole nation. The bounty was accepted, the graces conferred, and transmitted by way of instruction to the lord deputy and council.”‡

“ The principal of the graces were, that his majesty’s claim to any lands in Ireland should not extend farther back than to sixty years; that recusants who held of the crown should be permitted to sue their liveries, ouster-le-main and other grants in the court of wards; that their lawyers should be permitted to plead at the bar upon taking an oath, instead of the oath of supremacy, that they acknowledged and would defend Charles as their lawful king; that the

* Bernard’s Life of Usher.

† Carte’s Ormond.

‡ Leland.

people of Connaught who had surrendered their lands and whose patents had passed the great seal, but through the neglect of an officer of the court, not enrolled, and therefore subject to forfeiture, should be allowed to enrol them and exempted from all future claims; that the exactions and outrages of the soldiers were to be restrained and that persons obnoxious to law were not to be protected; that the fees of the king's officers and the power of the court of wards were to be limited within proper bounds. That no pretended privilege should exempt ecclesiastical lands from contributing to the support of government. That the demands of the reformed clergy were to be duly restrained and regulated."*

"The rigour with which their demands had been enforced, may be collected from the injunction annexed, "That no extraordinary warrants of assistance, touching clandestine marriages, christenings, or burials, or any contumacies pretended against ecclesiastical jurisdiction, are to be issued or executed by any chief governour; nor are the clergy to be permitted to keep any private prisons of their own for these causes; but delinquents in that kind are henceforth to be committed to the king's public goals, and by the king's officers."

"For the benefit of the undertakers of Ulster, the Scots were appointed to be made denizens, so as to enjoy the full advantage of their settle-

* Crawford.

ments. Those who, by neglect of articles, had rendered their grants resumable, were confirmed in their estates on doubling their rents, and paying a fine at the rate of thirty pounds for every thousand acres. A commission was directed for passing new patents (of which the want and delay had made them uneasy for some years) and to make a reasonable composition with those among them who had built on glebe lands, and the incumbents to whom the glebe belonged. And, for the satisfaction of planters in other counties, who, by a like neglect of articles, had forfeited their titles, a farther time was granted to them for performing the conditions of their plantation.

“ For a further security to all proprietors, their several estates were to be confirmed to them and their heirs by the next parliament to be holden in Ireland; in which, likewise, to remove the jealousies and apprehensions of every one throughout the realm, an act was to be passed for a free and general pardon.

“ But in this capital article, which was to have given these graces the same force and stability with the petition of rights, granted about the same time in England, the king's sincerity appeared at least suspicious. The body of instructions were transmitted in the month of May: in these the king explicitly appointed the third day of the succeeding month of November 1628, as the time when he intended that the Irish parliament should be holden. Lord Faulkland, without attending to any farther circumstances

of formality, issued writs of summons for an Irish parliament to meet on the day named by the king. The impropriety of this procedure was obvious: by the law of Poynings, a certification of causes and considerations, by the lord deputy and council of Ireland, was previously necessary, before the king's licence could be transmitted for holding a parliament in that kingdom. The council-board of England soon discovered and censured an omission so essential. The matter was referred to the judges, who pronounced the present writs of summons illegal and void. No new writs were issued, nor any new time assigned for a legal and regular convention of the Irish parliament."*

"In the character of Charles, disingenuity was a leading feature. He gave orders that the parliament should be convened; this in appearance, discovered a disposition to please the recusants. A necessary form was omitted which defeated that design; this gratified the opposite party. Thus the graces were to rest upon the king's unconstitutional prerogative."†

Charles's instructions to his deputy now declared the rights, and promised to redress the grievances of his Irish subjects. As he stood engaged, that his graces should be confirmed by parliament, (an act of state, though not confirmed by parliamentary sanction, having usually great weight in Ireland,) and the insincerity of his professions being not yet completely disco-

* Leland.

† Crawford.

vered, the contribution, by which these graces had been purchased, was cheerfully submitted to.*

"Now," say the Irish council, "the kingdom, is in far better order than ever it was in the memory of man; as well in the general and current execution of justice, according to the laws, in the freedom of men's persons and estates, and in the universal outward submission of all sorts of settled inhabitants to the crown and laws of England; as also in the advancement of the crown-revenues, and in the competent number of bishops and other able and learned ministers of the church of England."†

The non-enforcement of the penal statutes, however, ill-suited the views of the puritanic party. Supported by "grave and respectable prelates, the officers of state, of English birth and puritanic education, they warmly remonstrated against the turbulence and dangerous tendency of the practices of the recusants."‡ Turbulence and practices which consisted in the exercise of their religious rites, and the formation of an academy, for the education of their children, under an ecclesiastic. A proclamation was accordingly issued (1629) by the deputy, importing, "that the late intermission of legal proceedings against popish pretended titular archbishops, bishops, abbots, deans, vicars-general, jesuits, friars, and others, deriving their pretended authority from the see of Rome, in contempt of his majesty's royal power and autho-

* Leland.

† Letter to the king, April 28, 1629.

city, had bred such an extravagant insolence and presumption in them, that he was necessitated to charge and command them, in his majesty's name, to forbear the exercise of their popish rites and ceremonies.*

The insincerity of Charles began now to be perceived. Instead of a free exercise of religion, solemnly engaged, and dearly purchased, the exercise of popish rites and ceremonies is forbidden. Vexatious inquisitions, still continued, into the titles of estates, and the pressure of the public burdens, united the majority of the nation in their complaints of the non-fulfilment of the king's engagements. To disunite the complainants, the payment of the voluntary contribution was reduced from ten thousand to five thousand pounds quarterly, until the whole should be completed. To evade the fulfilment of his engagements, an expedient, since resorted to, was adopted, the lord lieutenant was recalled, 1630, the lords justices, Adam Loftus, viscount Ely, lord chancellor, and the earl of Cork, lord high treasurer, succeeded, and the system of terror commenced.

The new governors "fell at once with great severity on the recusants."* Absenters from the established worship were threatened with the penalties of the statutes; and, with unmanly, intolerant bigotry, inconsistent with the benign spirit of the gospel, and with the dictates of all the kind feelings of the heart, they ordered St.

* Leland.

Patrick's Purgatory, situated in a small island of lough Derg, to be dug up, and totally effaced.* There, in retirement, penitents, probably in imitation of St. Patrick, spent several days; their diet, bread and water; their bed, rushes or furze; their employment, fervent prayer. The cause and manner of this persecution are thus related by Hammon l'Estrange, who was then, or shortly after, in Ireland. "In this year, the Roman clergy began to rant it, and to exercise their fancies, called religion, so publicly as if they had gained a toleration.† For whilst the lords justices were at Christ-church in Dublin, on St. Stephen's day, they were celebrating mass in Cook-street; which their lordships taking notice of, they sent the archbishop of Dublin, the mayor, sheriffs, and recorder of the city, with a file of musketeers, to apprehend them; which they did, taking away the crucifixes and paraments of the altar; the soldiers hewing down the image of St. Francis; the priests and friars were delivered into the hands of the pursuivants, at whom the people threw stones, and rescued them: the lords justices being informed of this, sent a guard and delivered them, and clapped eight popish aldermen by the heels for not assisting their mayor. On this account, fifteen houses, (chapels) by the direction of the lords of the

* Crawford, Hist. Ireland.

† The reader, I imagine, will be surprised to find, that this ranting of the catholic clergy was nothing more, than their reading prayers quietly to their people in one of their own chapels.—Carrie.

council in England, were seized to the king's use, and the priests and friars were so persecuted, that two of them hanged themselves in their own defence." The catholic college was seized, assigned to the university of Dublin, and converted into a protestant seminary.*

The time approached when the voluntary subsidy, the chief support of the Irish government, was to determine. Having been continued longer, and grown more troublesome than was expected, the people " began to entertain frightful apprehensions, lest it might, in fine, turn to an hereditary charge on their estates." The protestants especially complained loudly of it; those of Cavan in particular, who signed a petition to the lords justices against it, setting forth, " That it was plotted and collected without the consent of the protestants of that country, and partly by force, praying their lordships favorably to forbear any further imposition of any such burden upon them, until they represented their humble remonstrance to his majesty." " The present lords

* Few, I believe, will wonder that the populace endeavoured to rescue their priests, in such an exigency; and fewer yet, that the catholic aldermen of Dublin did not assist their mayor in this priest-catching business. But it is not easy to conceive, what else but a truly puritaanical excess of zeal, could have excited an archbishop of Dublin to quit his province, the public service of the church, on a solemn festival, to head a file of musketeers, and lead them on furiously to demolish a chapel, apprehend a few priests, and terrify a number of harmless people in the midst of their devotions; and that too " in the midst of far better order in civil matters, and more universal subjection to the crown and laws of

justices,* either from a sense of the public Burdens and poverty of Ireland, or from their zeal against popery, objected to any continuance of the contribution, from which, they declared, that all the subjects of every denomination were obstinately averse: they advised, that recusants should be strictly presented, and the weekly fines imposed, for their absence from the established worship, as a means of providing for the army.”† To this Charles answered, “ We approve well, that this business, as you desire, may be presently put into such a state as that the money, which shall by that means grow due unto us, may be ready to be levied by Michaelmas next. And as the best and surest way to bring it to effect, we do hereby authorise and require you, forthwith to assemble our council there, and with their privity to cause presentments to be duly made through the whole kingdom, according to the law you mention doth appoint.” These presentments were accordingly made, and fines were imposed on such juries as refused to find them,

England, than was ever before known in the memory of man.” One can hardly help thinking, that the furious puritan Venner did, some years after, copy the example of this archbishop of Dublin, when, issuing from his conventicle in Colman-street, London, with about fifty of his disciples armed, he fancied himself commissioned from heaven to fall upon and kill all those whom he met with in the streets, of a different persuasion from his own. Currie.

* Richard, earl of Cork, privately set the protestants against this contribution; and several of the bishops joined him in opposing it.—Straffords’ St. Lett.

† Leland.

This mode of raising the supplies, though continued during the administration of the lords justices, was not conformable to the policy of Wentworth, earl of Strafford, whom Charles had determined to entrust with the management of Irish affairs; as, "If it took that good effect for which it was intended, which was to bring the Irish to a conformity in religion, it would come to nothing; and so would prove a covering narrower than a man could wrap himself in.....Not but that every good Englishman ought, as well in reason of state as conscience, to desire the kingdom were well reduced to a conformity of religion; but because it is a great business, that has many roots lying deep and far within the ground, which should be first thoroughly opened before we judge what height it may shoot up to, when it shall feel itself once struck at, to be loosened and pulled up." He was, therefore, for continuing the contribution as it then stood, "because he thought it more safe, considering the inequality of numbers and the ill provision of the army, to take the contribution against the will of the protestants, than to raise the twelve pence on a Sunday, against the liking of the recusants."*

* His lordship soon brought the king over to his opinion in this particular; but was obliged to have recourse to Laud's assistance, to convince the Irish bishops of the impropriety of executing the statute of the 2d of Elizabeth at that juncture. "As for the laying aside," says his grace in his letter to bishop Bedel, the twelve-pence a Sunday, and not expecting it for the present, his majesty conceives he did it upon all the considerable reasons that could be, and those very well

The renewal of the voluntary contribution was the great point then to be obtained. " Charles now used a new language to his Irish subjects. He threatened that the graces, which he had promised to confirm by parliament, should be strengthened, unless the voluntary contribution was continued; and the catholics became the dupes of the insidious policy of Strafford, even before he entered upon the government of Ireland. " He sent a private messenger of his own to Ireland, who was himself a catholic, with instructions to invite them to make an offer to his majesty of half a subsidy, to be paid the next year; upon the condition, that all further prosecution upon the statute of the second of Elizabeth might be respited till his coming over. The instrument

weighed; and therefore, I do heartily pray both you and your brethren, to lay aside all jealousies, and to advance his majesty's service by all the good means you can, for that he would be very sorry to find the carriage of any bishop especially should cast a damp upon his majesty's service." Carte, in his life of the Duke of Ormond, states, that the established clergy of Ireland, who made religion a pretence for pressing the execution of the before-mentioned statute, " were themselves generally ignorant and unlearned, and loose and irregular in their lives and conversations." And that, " as scandalous livings naturally make scandalous ministers, the clergy of the established church were negligent of their cures, and very careless of observing uniformity and decency in divine worship." Of this particular obstacle to the reformation lord Wentworth was fully sensible, and mentioned it in several of his letters to the ministry in England. " An unlearned clergy," says he, in one of them, " who have not so much as the outward form of churchmen to cover themselves withal, nor their persons any way revered or protected; the churches unbuilt; the parsonage and vicarage-houses utterly

I employed," says he, "knows no other, but that the resolution of the state here is set upon that course, and that I do this privately, in favor and well-wishing to divert the present storm, which would fall heavy upon them all, being framed and executed by the earl of Cork; which makes the man labor in good earnest, taking it to be a cause *pro aris et focis*."* This artifice succeeded. The catholics, through the medium of lord Antrim, agreed that the sum of twenty thousand pounds should be added to the former contribution, to be paid by four equal quarterly payments, and thus supplied the immediate necessities of the state, till the deputy's arrival.

"Few characters have been more the subject both of censure and panegyric than that of lord Wentworth,† better known by his superior title

ruined; the people untaught through the non-residence of the clergy, occasioned by unlimited shameful numbers of spiritual promotions, with cure of souls, which they hold by commendams; the rites and ceremonies of the church run over, without decency of habit, order, or gravity in the course of their service; the bishops alienating their very principal houses and demesnes to their children, to strangers, and farming out their jurisdictions to mean and unworthy persons;" so that with respect to their project of propagating religion by enforcing this statute, his lordship justly observed, "that such brainsick zeal would work a goodly reformation surely, to force conformity to a religion, when there was hardly to be found a church to receive, or an able minister to teach the people." Laud, in answer to this account of the Irish clergy, tells him, "the anatomy, which you make of the Irish ecclesiastical disease, makes it apparent, that it is spread so universally over the body, that a very wise physician can scarce tell where to begin the cure."

* There was not among all the English commons a more

of Strafford. His conduct as chief governour of Ireland, forms no inconsiderable part of the history of his life. . . . Ireland he regarded as a conquered kingdom in the strictest sense. He avowed and defended the opinion, under all the terrors of impeachment, when it was charged against him as a traiterous principle; and from this crude conception he deduced a consequence, at once ridiculous and detestable; that the subjects of this country, without distinction, had forfeited the rights of men and citizens; and, for whatever they were permitted to enjoy, depended solely on the royal grace. Such men he was naturally disposed to treat with contempt; and even the most distinguished of the Irish subjects were of little consequence in the eye of an imperious nobleman, used to the magnificence of the English court, distinguished, even in the crowd of exalted personages, and known to enjoy an extraordinary portion of the royal favour.

“ Against several in Ireland, of exalted station, he had already conceived some prejudice, or some

violent opposer of the extension of the king's prerogative, or a more strenuous assertor of the people's liberties, than he was, while he remained plain Sir Thomas Wentworth. But being brought over to the court in 1629, he was sworn a privy councillor, and made a baron, and soon after a viscount. “ The duke of Buckingham himself,” says Mr. Howel, “ flew not so high in as short a revolution of time. He was made viscount with a great deal of high ceremony, upon a Sunday in the afternoon, at Whitehall. Lord Powis, who affected him not much, being told that the heralds had fetched his pedigree from the blood royal, viz. from John of Gaunt, swore that if ever he came to be king of England, he would turn rebel.”—Letters, p. 211. Currie's Review.

resentment The puritans he abhorred; for, like their brethren in England, they were jealous of the prerogative, nor readily disposed to comply with every demand of the crown . . . And one favourite scheme of the new lord deputy was, to break the power of the great lords, which indeed had frequently been applied to the basest purposes . . . The clergy of the puritanic spirit were no less obnoxious; and among these were reckoned Usher of Armagh, and Bedel of Kilmore.”*

In July, 1633, lord Wentworth landed in Dublin, and “ began his administration in a manner that was ungracious, and could be hardly expected from a man of his wisdom and experience, who knew the consequence of the first steps that a governor takes, and the impressions which they leave in the minds of the people. For, four days after his arrival, he summoned the council by a pursuivant, according to the usual manner in that point; but summoned only a particular number, as if he intended to consult with a committee, rather than the whole body of it. This disobliged all that were omitted in the summons; and even the few he had called together were offended by a neglect, which they thought unbecoming his lordship to offer, or themselves to bear; they assembled at 2 o’clock, according to their summons, but the lord deputy, whether out of an affectation of state, or not attending to the hour through a more agreeable cause (for he had a day or two before declared

* Leland.

his marriage to Mrs. Elizabeth Rhodes, a young lady of extraordinary merit, whom after a long absence he had met at Dublin), made them wait two hours and more, before he came to them; and then the business, under pretence of which they were summoned, was not handled as they expected. It was, perhaps, for this, among other reasons, that at their next meeting in council, his lordship's proposal for continuing the contribution for another year was far from being agreeably received; so far indeed, that he said, "he was put to his last refuge on that occasion, which was to tell them plainly, that there was no necessity, which induced him to take them to council in that business; for that rather than fail in so necessary a duty to his master, he would undertake, upon the peril of his head, to make the king's army able to subsist and provide for themselves amongst them, without their help."* This menace had complete effect. His proposal for calling a parliament was readily agreed to, "so horribly afraid were they that the contribution money would be set as an annual charge upon their inheritances, that they would redeem it at any rate."† From the protestants he procured a written promise, for the next year's contribution,

* The army, at this time, took up victuals in its marches, and paid nothing, as if it had been an enemy's country, and therefore was held in abomination by its inhabitants. Wentworth confesses, that before 1636 "the duties had from the Irish were rather, indeed, violent takings, ravishments of the poor, than the modest quiet levies of a pious and christian king.—Currie's Rev.

† Straffords' St. Lett.

it having this year proceeded from the catholics, who ought not, he tauntingly observed, be permitted to be more forward than the protestants in their chearfulness and readiness to serve the king. The next labour, he says, must be to get through the whole kingdom, the hands of the popish party to the like offer, which I assure myself to have within a few weeks.*

A parliament was for many reasons desirable. From it was expected the confirmation of those graces, so solemnly promised, so shamefully evaded, so amply paid for, so essentially necessary for the welfare and security of the subjects. The king's title, pleaded by rapacious courtiers, and needy projectors, continued to dispossess the lawful possessors of their estates, or force them to grievous compositions; and the support of the army, by voluntary contributions, continued so long, that it was apprehended it would be converted into as hereditary charge upon their estates. But the object of Wentworth was, to obtain an ample supply, and defraud the Irish of the graces, now deemed disadvantageous to the crown. In flagrant violation of the royal promise, a western plantation, though not avowed, was firmly resolved upon; to limit the discovery of flaws in the titles of estates, to sixty years, could not be endured; it was computed it would deprive the crown of twenty thousand pounds per annum.

Charles, though he did not scruple to promote his selfish designs at the expence of sincerity,

* Strafford's St. Lett.

had some difficulty to break his obligations, so solemnly contracted. "As for that hydra," said he to his lord deputy, "take good heed; for you know, that here I have found it as well cunning as malicious. It is true that your grounds are well laid, and I assure you, that I have great trust in your care and judgment; yet my opinion is that it will not be the worse for my service, though their obstinacy make you to break with them; for I fear that they have some ground, to demand more than it is fit for me to give."* In effect, the king must naturally have apprehended, that an Irish parliament would claim the performance of his royal promise, and press for a confirmation of the graces, transmitted in instruction to lord Falkland.† Wentworth reminded him, that by Poyning's law, he was empowered to transmit or suppress bills at pleasure, and that he would transmit those he deemed serviceable, suppress such as were deemed injurious, take upon himself the odium, and be responsible for the consequences. In this mean subterfuge Charles not only acquiesced, but to his deputy expressed his satisfaction; "Wentworth, before I answer any of your particular letters to me, I must tell you, that your last public dispatch has given me a great deal of contentment; and especially for the keeping off the envy of a necessary negative from me of those unreasonable graces that people expected from me."

* Strafford's St. Let.

† Leland.

That the parliament should be completely subservient, with the writs of summons he sent out recommendations of those judged fittest for his majesty's service;* in order that the lower house should be so composed, that neither the recusants nor yet the protestants should appear considerably one more than the other: holding them as much as might be in an equal balance, as being thus easier to govern. And then, in private discourse, to shew the recusants, that the late contribution ending in December, if his majesty's army was not supplied some other way, the twelve pence per Sunday must of necessity be exacted upon them; and on the other hand, to shew the protestants that his majesty's army must not let go the twenty thousand pounds contribution, nor yet, that he would discontent the recusants in matter of religion, till the army were else certainly provided for.† To preserve a balance between the parties, he says, "I shall labor to make as many captains, and officers burgesses, in this parliament, as I possibly can; who having immediate dependence on the crown, may always sway the business between the two parties, (the protestants and the catholics) which way they please."

"One particular instance of his lordship's ma-

* "I have this day," says he, in a letter to secretary Coke, "sent out the writs of summons, and with them above an hundred letters in recommendation of such as, upon advice taken with this council, were held persons ablest and best set for his majesty's service, having both in that and all the rest used the utmost of my power and diligence to get the house to be composed of quiet and governable men."

† Strafford's St. Lett.

nagement in these elections, I shall relate in his own words, because, indeed, it is in itself so extraordinary, that it would hardly gain belief, were it related in the words of any other person."

"His lordship had resolved to make Mr. Cateline, who was recorder of Dublin, one of the representatives of that city; but it appears that Cateline's competitor, being either a catholic, or strenuously supported by that interest, was likely to carry the election from him. For the catholics were generally apprehensive, that some severe laws against the exercise of their religion were intended to be passed that session, and therefore, were probably very active in this business of elections,* in the different parts of the kingdom. This activity of theirs was foundation enough for Wentworth to pretend in excuse of his own violent interposition in this election for Dublin, "that the sheriff of that city had carried himself mutinously;" but in what respect he does not mention, otherwise than by a bare suspicion of his own, "that he was set on by priests and friars to suffer no protestant to be returned to parliament." On this suspicion, however, he brought him into the castle chamber, upon an *Ore tenus*; where, upon what he had set down under his hand, he fined him in two hundred pounds, and five hundred pounds more, for his

* "Albeit," says Lord Wentworth, "the popish party are infinitely solicitous that no protestants should be chosen where they can possibly hinder it; yet I am very confident, they will be very forward for the king's supply, so as the matter of religion be not stirred against them."

contempt in refusing to set his hand to another part of his examination, disabling him from ever bearing that office in the city: "Which," adds his lordship, "wrought so good an effect, as giving order presently for chusing a new sheriff, and going on the next day with the election again, the voices were all orderly taken; and the conformable proving the greatest number, Cataline and alderman Barry, a protestant, were chosen." There were at this time more than an hundred Roman catholics to one protestant in Ireland, and Roman catholics were then equally with protestants qualified to vote at elections.*

"It had been usual in Ireland, previous to the holding a parliament, that the lords of the Pale should be summoned and consulted, on the time, circumstances, and business of this assembly. It was moved in the council, that this custom should be now observed; but the deputy suppressed the motion peremptorily and severely. These lords deputed one of their number, the earl of Fingal, to remind him of the custom: he treated his overture with contempt and disdain, and reprimanded the presumption of it with an indecent acrimony. When the council had assembled to deliberate on the causes and considerations, and the bills to be transmitted, previous to the session of parliament, they at first seemed little inclined to tread precisely in the path, which the lord deputy pointed out; they proposed several bills to be transmitted together with the

* Currie, Hist. Rev.

subsidies; as good inducements to content the houses: it was expected that the bill of subsidies should be sent with blanks, that the king himself might prescribe the number and manner of these donations: the council on the other hand contended, that the sums required should be immediately ascertained, and that they should not exceed the strict bounds of necessity. The deputy quickly interrupted these deliberations: he told them, that instead of consulting what might please the people in parliament, the duty of their place required them to consider what might please the king, and induce him to call one; that his majesty deserved and expected the confidence of his people. A permanent provision was necessary for his army; not a momentary and precarious supply. "The king," said he, "desires this great work may be settled by parliament. He covets to walk in this, as the most beaten path, yet not more legal than that of his prerogative royal, where the ordinary way fails him. If this people can be so unwise as to cast off his gracious proposals, and their own safety, it must be done without them. As a faithful servant to my master, I shall counsel his majesty to attempt it first by the ordinary means: disappointed there, where he may with so much right expect it, I could not, in a cause so just and necessary, deny to appear for him in the head of that army; and there either persuade them fully, that his majesty had reason on his side, or die in the pursuit of his commands so justly laid upon me. Nay, I do not hold it impossible to effect his desires with

the general consent of the nation, by taking the supply from those only who are best able to answer it, and all this while have paid little or nothing."

"The counsellors, who but now canvassed every proposition of government with freedom, were in a moment shamefully confounded and silenced by this insolence. They trembled; and acquiesced in every measure proposed by the deputy."*

The parliament assembled in extraordinary pomp, July 16, 1634. The speaker of the commons was chosen by the recommendation of his lordship; who informed them, "that his majesty expected an hundred thousand pounds debt to be discharged, and twenty thousand pounds a year constant and standing revenue, to be set apart for payment of the army." He likewise told them, "that his majesty intended to have two sessions of that parliament, the one for himself, the other for them; so as if they, without conditions, supplied the king in this, they might be sure his majesty would go along with them in the next meeting, through all the expressions of a gracious and good king."

"Lord Wentworth knew, that in the year 1628, the king had given the Irish his solemn promise, for a valuable consideration, that he would, in their next parliament, (which was that now assembled) remove several grievances that had been humbly remonstrated to him, particu-

* Leland.

larly the enquiry into defective titles; but he was sensible at the same time, that this solemn promise would not be kept; nay, he had himself actually persuaded the king not to keep it. It was therefore with reason apprehended, by both his majesty and his lordship, that the commons would insist on the performance of that promise, before they granted the supplies in question; on which account it was thought advisable to make two sessions of that parliament, and to give them the king's promise for both. At all events, it seems to have been resolved upon, in case the commons insisted on the previous performance of the king's promise, to dissolve the parliament, and raise the supplies in an arbitrary way. Under this apprehension, his majesty told the deputy, "that it would not be worse for him, though that parliament's obstinacy should make him break with them; for I fear," adds he, "they have some grounds to demand more than it is fit for me to give."

"The deputy, however, took uncommon pains to persuade them, that in case of their free and unconditional grant of the supplies, the king would certainly confirm the promised graces;*

* But with how little sincerity, appears from his letter to the secretary Coke on that subject: "Let me," says he, "tell you in your ear, howbeit we set a fair style on these laws, as beneficial to the commonwealth, yet there are of them, which I dare confidently affirm, will be worth the king at least four thousand pounds a year in the court of wards and alienations, a point which my masters in the house dream not of."—These laws were the statutes of wills and uses, which he afterwards, with much difficulty and in breach of his

and in order to banish from their minds all diffidence in that respect, "Surely," said he, "so great a meanness cannot enter your hearts, as once to suspect his majesty's gracious regards of you, and performance with you, where you affie yourselves upon his grace." And yet his lordship had not only advised his majesty, as I have already observed, to break his solemn promise to these people; but also, in order more effectually to persuade him to do so, had even engaged to take upon himself all the danger and infamy that was likely to arise from it.

"But lest these artful insinuations should not prevail with the commons, he thought proper to enforce his demands by some high expressions, tending to frighten them into a speedy compliance. "Let me not," said he, "prove a Cassandra amongst you, to speak truth and not to be believed. However, speak truth, I will, were I become your enemy for it; remember therefore, that I tell you, you may either mar or make this parliament. If you proceed with respect, without laying clogs or conditions on the king, as wise men and good subjects ought to do, you shall

public promise, "that religion should not be touched upon," got passed in his packed parliament. "And by which, (as he afterwards boasted) his majesty had gained an unavoidable power in the education of the heirs of all the great families in the kingdom, as they fell; and so means to bring them up in our religion; a superintendency (adds he) of vast consequence, if rightly applied, as in part appears in the person of the earl of Ormond. The abolition of this court was one of the principal graces which the king had solemnly promised to these people in 1622, for the valuable consideration heretofore mentioned.

infallibly set up this parliament eminent to posterity, as the very basis and foundation of the greatest happiness and prosperity that ever befell this nation. But if you meet a great king with narrow circumscribed hearts, if you will needs be wise and cautious above the moon, remember again that I tell you, you shall never be able to cast your mists before the eyes of so discerning a king; you shall be found out, your sons shall wish they had been the children of more believing parents; and in a time when you look not for it, when it will be too late for you to help, the sad repentance of an unadvised breach shall be yours; lasting honour shall be my master's."*

On the fourth day of the session a motion was made to expel the members illegally returned. Wentworth interfered. He ordered, that on the following day the supplies should be instantly moved for, "not to be diverted by any other proposition; not even by moving that it should rest till the house had taken this purging physic, which they so hotly called for." The supplies were accordingly moved for on the following day, and six entire subsidies were unanimously voted to his majesty, payable in four years.†

* See Currie, Hist. Rev.

† "In this house" says Wentworth, "the parties were in a manner equal; some few odds on the protestant party; and one watching the other lest their fellow should rob them, and apply the whole grace of his majesty's thanks to himself from the others; an emulation so well fomented under-hand, that when the motion for the king's supply was made yesterday in the house of commons, being the fifth day of the session, they did with one voice assent to the giving of six subsidies, to be paid in four years."—Ib. fol. 274.

These supplies were very considerable;* and far exceeded his lordship's expectation. "The proportion he was guided by, was to rate every thousand pounds per annum, with forty pounds payment to the king, each subsidy, so that," says he, "the subsidies raised this first, were more than I proposed to be had in both sessions, and were given freely and without any contradiction."

His lordship's observations on the catholics calling so hotly for "the purging of the house," is worthy of some notice. "This warm motion of purging the house, doubtless with an aim of putting out a great company of protestants, upon the point of non-residency, came not, as I was well assured, from any backwardness to supply the king; but out of an hope, by this means putting out many of the other party, to become the greater number, and so endear themselves the more with his majesty, to make that work (granting the subsidies) wholly their own, and themselves more considerable; which would turn a greater obligation on the king, than I conceive his majesty would be willing they should put upon him, or indeed was fit, the present condition of affairs considered." By this condition of affairs is plainly to be understood, his majesty's and the viceroy's preconcerted design, to carry on the enquiry into defective titles, notwithstanding the royal promise to the contrary; for which iniquitous purpose, these unqualified

* "Each of these subsidies amounted to fifty thousand pounds; and he never propounded more to the king than thirty thousand."—*Ib.* fol. 273.

members were still retained and protected, to the great prejudice of real representatives of the people, and at the expence of his majesty's justice and honor.*

“ The commons, relying on the merit of these unconditional supplies, chearfully and unanimously granted, appointed a committee to draw up a remonstrance to the lord deputy, concerning his majesty's promise; particularly, in relation to the enquiry into defective titles. In that remonstrance, presented to the deputy by sir George Ratcliffe, master of the rolls; sir James Ware, Mr. Serjeant Barry, and eight other respectable members, they set forth, “ That sensibly apprehending the manifold inconveniencies that had befallen the kingdom, through the uncertainty of estates, occasioned by the embezzling, burning and defacing of records, in times loose and uncertain, troubled with continual war, until the beginning of his late majesty's happy reign; and increased by the negligence or ignorance of sundry persons heretofore employed in passing of patents and estates from the crown; whereby many errors in law crept into these grants, whereof divers indigent persons, with eagle-eyes piercing thereunto, commonly took advantage, to the utter overthrow of many noble and deserving persons, who for valuable considerations of service to the crown, or for money, or for both, honorably and fairly acquired their estates. That, therefore, finding in themselves a sensible

* Currie's Hist. Rev.

feeling of these and other grievances, they had received unspeakable pleasure from his majesty's princely care and tender affection towards them, expressed in the graces transmitted over by their last agents, and on his royal word, the best of assurances, and his princely signature, which he had been graciously pleased to pass unto them, to cause the said graces to be enacted in the next ensuing parliament; that they could not sufficiently discharge their duty to his majesty, or the trust reposed in them by their country, unless they were careful in these great affairs, to conserve the honor of his majesty's word, in that respect, passed unto them his people, who had heretofore, by their said agents, presented a free gift of one hundred and twenty thousand pounds to his majesty, and one hundred and fifty thousand pounds loan-money or contribution, by them forgiven; and forty thousand pounds in these two last years, contributed by the country, amounting in the total to three hundred and ten thousand pounds, exceeding in proportion to their abilities, and the precedents of past ages, &c. Wherefore, they most humbly prayed, that his lordship would place the statute 81st Jacobi, entitled an act for the general quiet of the subject against concealments, in the first transmission of laws into England; the said grace being particularly promised by his majesty, approved by both the councils of estate in England and Ireland, and published in all the counties of Ireland at the general assizes; and most expected of all the other graces. And that he would please to certify their universal

consent, and much longing desire, to have the said statute of 21st Jacobi,* and the rest of the said graces, perpetuated by acts to be passed in that parliament."

"In the mean time, the peers of Ireland seemed neither intimidated by the severity of the chief governour, nor deceived by his artifices. They complained loudly of public grievances; pressed for the confirmation of the royal graces; were particularly urgent for establishing that article, which confined the king's claims on their lands, to a retrospect of sixty years; and frequently mentioned the royal promise, in a manner highly offensive to an administration, resolved that it should not be fulfilled. They debated warmly and frequently on several regulations, which they conceived necessary to be established for the public good. They proceeded yet further. Without regard to the provisions of Poyning's statute, or considering themselves as the king's hereditary council, and therefore, particularly entitled to the designation, mentioned in this statute, they

* The 24th instruction (among others sent by his majesty) relative to this particular grace, runs thus: "for the better settling of our subjects' estates in that kingdom, we are pleased that the like act of grace shall pass in the next parliament there, (Ireland) touching the limitation of our title not to exceed threescore years, as did pass here (England) 21st Jacobi; wherein are to be excepted the lands whereunto we are entitled by office already taken, and those already disposed of by our directions. And we are further graciously pleased, for a more ample testimony of our goodness to our subjects of that kingdom, to direct hereby that from henceforth no advantage be taken for any title accruing to us threescore years past and above, &c."

ordered the attorney-general to draw up several laws, on which they had debated, into formal acts, in order to be transmitted into England. No governour was more tenacious of the law of Poynings, or considered an inviolable adherence to this law in a light of greater consequence to the crown, than lord Wentworth. Yet, for the present, these extraordinary proceedings were unnoticed. The warm temper of the lords was less alarming, as the neglect of a committee of the commons, in not attending a conference in due time, had occasioned a quarrel, which prevented any dangerous concert between the two houses.* The bills of subsidy were passed. The only other bill, which the administration intended should be enacted in this session, was one for the confirmation of letters patent to be passed on the new commission, for remedy of defective titles. This also was established into a law, and attended by a petition from the lords to the chief governour, that this commission should be executed with such speed and moderation, that the royal favour might be the more welcome, and the subsidies the better paid. His answer was gracious; the session on the point of closing; it was now the proper time for taking notice of the power assumed by the lords, of framing and transmitting

* A trivial difference between the two houses kept them asunder all this session; the commons not consenting to confer with the lords, unless they might sit and be covered as well as their lordships, which the lords would by no means admit. By this means the deputy avoided their joining in a petition for the graces, which otherwise, he says, they infallibly would have done.—Strafford's St. Lett.

bills; and this was done by a formal protest against their proceeding, made by the lord deputy on concluding the session, and which he required to be recorded in the journals of the lords. The protest recites the purport of the law of Poynings, and the explanatory law of Philip and Mary. It enumerates the several bills drawn up by order of the house of lords, and which had in their name been presented to the lord deputy, in order for their transmission into England. "All which proceedings of their lordships, we the lord deputy," saith Wentworth, "taking into due consideration, and weighing with the said statutes, although we do not conceive, that the said lords, advisedly or purposedly intended to violate or innovate in any thing, otherwise than by the said statutes are provided; yet, for the avoiding of any misrepresentation, which, by reason of that manner of proceeding, may in after-times be made, to the intrenchment of the said acts of parliament, or his majesty's regal power, whereof we are and will be always most tender; in discharge of the duty we owe to the preservation of his majesty's honour, and that the like mistake in their lordship's proceedings may futuramente be avoided:—We have therefore thought fit this day, in full parliament, to protest against that course held by their lordships, as not any ways belonging to their lordships, to give order to the king's learned counsel, or any other, for the framing or drawing up any acts to pass in parliament; but that the same solely belongs to us the lord deputy and council. We the lord deputy do

hereby further declare, that their lordships have power only by remonstrance and petition to represent to the lord deputy and council, for the time being, such public considerations as they shall think fit and good for the commonwealth, and so to submit them to be drawn into acts, and transmitted into England, or otherwise altered or rejected, according as the lord deputy and council, in their wisdom, shall judge and hold expedient; and that, in such wise as the said acts of parliament, in these cases, have limited and appointed. And we the lord deputy do trust, that their lordships will take this as a seasonable and necessary admonishment from us, and forbear the like course hereafter." This protest was received without any apparent ill temper in the lords; and the session closed, with the utmost triumph on the part of the chief governour, for the concessions he had obtained."*

On the 4th of November, 1634, commenced the second session of this parliament; and on the twelfth an order was passed, "that Mr. Speaker and the whole house should attend the lord deputy, humbly to desire his lordship's answer to the petition of remonstrance, formerly presented to his lordship, either in writing or otherwise, as his lordship should think fit."

The return made by the deputy, on that occasion, was by no means suitable to so respectful an application. He had already resolved to "give them an answer, round and clear, and such as

* Leland.

would stifle all replications." He, therefore, called some of them before him, and told them plainly, " That he would not transmit to England the statute 21st Jacobii, that such refusal was his own, their request never having been so much as sent over by him;* that passing this act to prevent enquiry into defective titles, was not good and expedient for the kingdom at that time; and so they were to rest satisfied, without stirring any more, as to that particular, as a thing which could not, nor would not be departed from." For the clearing of the king's honor, so essentially concerned in this contest, his lordship had, with some difficulty, brought over the council† to represent to his majesty, " That he was not bound, either in conscience, justice, or honor, to perform the solemn promise he had made to these people, for the valuable consideration before-mentioned."

When, on the 27th of November, his lordship's answer to their remonstrance was reported to the commons, the catholic members, who were principally, if not solely, aggrieved by the enquiry into defective titles, " were so ill to please," says Wentworth himself, " that they lost all temper,

* This appears to be a falsehood, for in a letter to secretary Coke of the sixth of October 1634, he tells him, " that he sends the petition of the lower house" relative to these graces, And adds, that the ground of denying all may be set upon him and the council; and so his majesty preserved from all color of declining in any part of that which they expected."

" Sure I am (says he) I gained this point from them (the council) with some art and difficulty; and flatter myself therein to have done his majesty good service."

and broke forth into such froward sullenness, as was strange; rejecting, hand over head, every other bill that was offered them from his majesty and the state."

The bills here alluded to, were the two statutes of uses and wills; "by which," says Mr. Carte, "the Roman catholics imagined, and not without reason,* that their religion would in time be affected, and by the due execution thereof, be at last utterly extinguished, by the putting it in his majesty's power, to have the minors of the chief families of the kingdom, educated in the communion of the church of England. These bills, were, however, at length passed in that session; and the catholics ever afterwards considered them as heavy grievances, and had an eye to them, in all the complaints which they exhibited upon occasion, against the court of wards."

A law passed to regulate the inheritance of estates; another to restore to the clergy possessions of which they had been unjustly deprived, and to prevent alienations in future. Some other bills defeated by the recusants, Wentworth in the high strain of prerogative, established by an act of state. The two houses united in a petition to the king, to re-establish a mint in Ireland. This privilege, by which a saving of several

* "These laws could not be agreeable to the recusants, because they empowered the king to have minors educated from their early years in the communion of the established church."—Leland. And because Strafford had promised, in his speech to that parliament, "that religion should not be touched upon."—State Lett.

thousand pounds was derived to the nation, was granted by Edward I. but lost in the confusion of the times that followed. The English council defeated their application; thereby giving them occasion to reflect on the unhappiness of their situation, in being under the controul of a body of men of a different country, who have no natural inclination for the welfare of their's, nor any interest in the good of it.*

The manufactures could not escape. There was then little, except some small beginnings of that valuable branch, the clothing manufacture, which promised to increase. This Strafford, in violation of our commercial rights, and in prejudice to the national interest, to benefit the British woollen manufacture, determined to destroy—it might in time essentially affect the staple commodity of England! Ireland furnished great quantities of wool, and its people could afford to vend their cloth in foreign markets on more moderate terms than the English traders—that was alarming. Wentworth considered further, that if the Irish were restrained from manufacturing their own wool, they must of necessity bring their clothing from England, so as in some sort to be dependant on that country for their livelihood. “For,” says he, “how shall they be able to depart from us without nakedness and beggary?” He might have added, without perishing, having established a monopoly of salt to his majesty, as salt was a mean of life, without which 'tis not

* Carte's Ormond.

possible to subsist. By such exertions of tyranny, did despots endeavour to destroy the rights of Irishmen! But scarcely any man is so perverted as not to do good, when by acting otherwise he can gratify no criminal desire or selfish passion. As the soil was favourable to the growth of flax, the working of which, in cloth, was not, to England, an object of competition, he promoted the linen manufacture.

“ But the catholics of Ireland were not the only objects of the deputy’s despotism and control. The protestant arch-bishops, bishops, and other clergy, then assembled in convocation, with the famous primate Usher at their head, crouched and groaned under his arbitrary dominion. Lord Wentworth had discovered that the generality of that clergy were strongly inclined to puritanism, and therefore he resolved, in concert with arch-bishop Laud, to compel them “ to receive implicitly without examination or debate,” the canons as well as the articles of the church of England; a condescension, which for the manner, as well as matter, they were exceedingly loath to yield to. It may not, perhaps, be unentertaining to the reader, to find some account here of this extraordinary transaction, from his lordship’s own letter to the archbishop, on that occasion.

“ I found,” says he, “ the lower house of convocation had appointed a select committee to consider the canons of the church of England; and that they did proceed in the examination without conferring at all with the bishops; that they had gone through the book of canons, and

noted in the margin such as they allowed with an A; and on the others, they had put a D, which stood for deliberandum; that into the fifth article they had brought the articles of Ireland (of 1615) to be allowed and received, under pain of excommunication; and that they had drawn up their canons into a body.

“ I instantly sent for dean Andrews, that reverend clerk, who sate, forsooth, in the chair of this committee; requiring him to bring along with him the aforesaid book of canons, so noted in the margin, together with the draught he was to present that afternoon to the house.

“ But when I had opened the book, and ran over the deliberandums in the margin, I confess, I was not so much moved since I came into Ireland. I told him certainly, not a dean of Limerick, but an Ananias, had been there in spirit, if not in body, with all the fraternities and conventicles of Amsterdam; and that I was ashamed and scandalized at it beyond measure. I therefore said, he should leave the book and draught with me; and then I did command him, upon his allegiance, to report nothing to the house from the committee, till he heard from me again; being thus nettled, I gave present directions for a meeting, and warned the primate (Usher), the bishops of Meath, Kilmore, Raphoe and Derry, together with dean Lesly, the prolocutor, and all those who had been of the committee, to be with me the next morning.

“ Then I publicly told them, how unlike the clergymen, that owed canonical obedience to

their superiors, they had proceeded in their committee; how unheard-of a part it was, for a few petty clerks to make articles of faith, without the privity, or consent of the state, or the bishops; and what a spirit of Brownism, and contradiction, I observed in their deliberandums; but these heady and arrogant courses, they must know, I was not to endure, nor if they were disposed to be frantic, in this dead and cold season of the year, would suffer them either to be mad in their convocations or pulpits."

After this his lordship declared to them all, "that no other question should be proposed at their meeting, but that for allowing, and receiving, the articles of England,* without admitting any other discourse at all; for that he would not endure that the articles of the church of England should be disputed. And finally," proceeds his lordship, "because there should be no question in the canon that should be voted, I desired the lord primate would be pleased to frame it, and send it to me for my perusal; after

* Yet in the petition of the clergy of Dublin, in 1647, to the parliament commissioners for leave to use the liturgy and common prayer in their churches, we find these words, "hence it was, that till the convocation held in Dublin, anno 1634, the articles of the church of England were not held or reputed the articles of the church of Ireland, and when they were received, they were not received in any acknowledged subordination to the church of England. Hence it is, besides, that our canons were not imposed by the church of England; nay, when somewhat highly the clergy were invited to submit to the book of English canons, the convocation utterly refused to submit to the same, and framed a new book of canons for the church of Ireland."—Borlase. *Carrie.*

which I would send the prolocutor a draught of the canon to be propounded in a letter of his own.

“ This meeting thus broke, there were some hot spirits, sons of thunder, amongst them, who moved, they should petition for a free synod; but in fine, they could not agree among themselves, who should put the bell about the cat’s neck; so this likewise vanished.”

“ The primate accordingly framed the canon, which I, not so well approving, drew up one myself, more after the words of the canon in England, and then sent it to him. His grace came instantly to me, and told me he feared the canon would not pass in that form, as I had made it, but he was hopeful, as he had drawn it up, it might. He besought me, therefore, to think a little better of it: but I confess, having taken a little jealousy, that his proceedings were not open and free to those ends I had my eye upon, it was too late either to persuade or affright me. I told his lordship I was resolved to put it to them in these very words: only for order’s sake, I desired his lordship would vote this canon first, in the upper house of convocation, without any delay: then I wrote a letter to dean Lesly, with the canon enclosed; which accordingly, that afternoon, was unanimously voted; first with the bishops, and then with the rest of the clergy, excepting one man, who singly did deliberate upon receiving the articles of England.” This statement he concludes with this boast, “ so now

I can say that the king is as absolute here as any prince can be."

"This was perhaps, the highest exertion of lay-ecclesiastical authority that was ever known in this or any other kingdom. For, as by this canon, excommunication is expressly denounced against all those who should affirm, that, "the articles of the church of England were such as they might not, with a good conscience, subscribe unto;" and as the members of this convocation seem to have thought them to be really such, (for otherwise, they would have more readily acquiesced in them), it appears that these bishops and clergy were then obliged to subscribe to a canon, denouncing excommunication against themselves, in case they should ever after venture to publish their real opinion of these articles."*

To support this measure, to determine as the dernier resort, to punish ecclesiastical offences, and, at the same time, "to raise perhaps a good revenue to the crown," an establishment, too odious, and therefore too dangerous, to be attempted during the sessions of parliament, that of a high commission court, was erected in Dublin, after the English model, with the same tremendous powers.

The further proceedings of this deputy are thus judiciously collected by Dr. Currie, from grave cotemporary authorities.

* "These canons were confirmed and published by his majesty's authority under the great seal of Ireland." "And are the canons and constitutions (says Nicholson, bishop of Derry) which are still observed in the established church of Ireland."

“ Wentworth was well informed what ample rewards two of his predecessors in the government of Ireland had obtained, by their activity and success in carrying on the enquiry into defective titles; “ one of them having lands bestowed upon him, which in the year 1633, were of no less than ten thousand pounds, yearly value; and the other ten thousand pounds in one gift.” Hoping therefore, for the like, or greater retribution, his lordship exerted himself in that business with uncommon resolution and vigor; “ having procured inquisitions, upon feigned titles to estates, against many hundred years possession, whilst jurors refusing to find such offices, as being against their consciences, and the evidence, were censured to public infamy, and the ruin of their estates.”

The deputy had chosen Connaught, and Ormond to make his first essay upon, in this enquiry. His lordship owns, that he had often labored to find a title in the crown to these countries, but that he was always foiled in the attempt.” And, in several of his letters into England, he laments, that he could gather no light from thence into these matters. An accident,* however, removed soon after, his per-

* “ On opening of parliament, the deputy issued a proclamation, that neither the peers or commoners should come into parliament with swords.” “ Pursuant to orders, the usher of the black rod was planted at the door of the house of lords, to take the swords of the peers; and as the earl of Ormond was coming in, he demanded his, but was refused. That officer hereupon shewed the proclamation, and repeated his demand in a rough manner. The earl told him, that if he

plexity with regard to Ormond; but the nobility and gentry in some parts of Connaught, gave him great opposition. Wherefore, "old records of state and the memorials of antient monasteries, were ransacked to ascertain the king's original title to that province; and the ingenuity of court lawyers was employed to invalidate all patents granted to the possessors of lands there, from the reign of queen Elizabeth." The deputy even seemed to entertain thoughts of calling to his assistance the authority of his packed parliament, on that occasion. "This house," says he, in a letter to the secretary, "is very well composed, so as the protestants are the majority; and this may be of great use to confirm and settle his majesty's title to the plantations of Connaught and Ormond; for this you may be sure of, all the protestants are for plantations, all the others against them; so as these being the greater number, you can want no help they can give you therein.* Nay, in case there would be no title

must have his sword, he should have it in his guts; and so marched on to his seat, and was the only peer who sat that day with a sword in the house. Upon the earl's being sent for by the deputy that very night, to appear before the council, and answer for his disobedience to the proclamation, he owned he had seen it, and added, "that he disobeyed both that and his lordship's order, out of deference to an higher authority; and then produced the king's writ, which summoned him to come to parliament, *cum gladio cinctus*. This altercation was the beginning and cause of that great friendship, which subsisted between these two noblemen during lord Wentworth's life."

* This shews the falsity of what is generally asserted, that the protestants suffered as much as the catholics by these

to be made good to these countries in the crown, yet should not I despair, forth of reasons of state, and for the strength and security of the kingdom, to have them passed to the king by an immediate act of parliament."

"We have already seen that by the earl of Ormond's spirited behaviour, in the beginning of this parliament, Wentworth conceived a particular friendship for him; which was so far mutual on the earl's part, that he made a voluntary surrender of his country to the king, in whom otherwise no title could be found to it.* For this condescension, his lordship was, by the deputy's mediation, made a privy-counsellor, in the room of Sir Pierce Crosby, lately sequestered from that board, for no other cause, but his having voted in parliament against a bill which lord Wentworth had approved and signed in the privy-council. "There were twenty-eight counsellors present when he was sequestered, and not one dissenting voice, but all for the sequestration."

"Soon after Sir Pierce Crosby's sequestration, a libel being published and scattered abroad, reflecting on the deputy, he was immediately suspected to be the author of it; upon this suspicion, the deputy sent his captain of the guards, and a

plantations. In the same letter Wentworth says, "that he considered that majority of the protestants in the house of commons as a good rod to hold over the papists."

* "Seeing," says Wentworth on this occasion, "we have sped so well, where our title was borrowed, or at least supported by my lord of Ormond, and indeed could not have stood alone upon the king's evidence, I am most confident we shall have like success for Clare."

serjeant at arms, to arrest him, and commit him to prison; whilst Sir Philip Mainwaring, secretary of state, with others, broke into his study, and secured his papers, in hoping of finding a copy of the libel, but none was found."

The surrender of Ormond was soon followed by that of Limerick and Clare; but the people of Connaught were not at all so complaisant; although they too had some leading examples of that kind in their own province.

About this time lord Wentworth acquainted his majesty, "that he should be able to find for him, a just and honorable title to Connaught, against all opposition; and that the acquisition to his majesty, in that province alone, would amount to no less than an hundred and twenty thousand acres."* It is but natural to enquire, by what means a just and honorable title could be so suddenly found, which, but a few months before, seemed to be altogether despaired of. Lord Wentworth himself shall satisfy the reader's curiosity in that respect.†

Before his lordship left Dublin, to hold this court of inquisition in Connaught, he had given

* "Wentworth's project was nothing less," says Leland, "than to subvert the title to every estate, in every part of Connaught, and to establish a new plantation through that whole province. A project, which when first proposed in the late reign, was received with horror and amazement."

† "How to make out," says Wentworth, "his majesty's title to Connaught and Ormond, (which, considering how they have been already attempted and foiled, is of all the rest the greatest difficulty) I have not hitherto received the least instruction from your lordship, or any other minister on that side."

orders to his managers there, that gentlemen of the best estates and understandings, in the different counties, should be returned on the juries which were to be held in the first trials of defective titles. This he did not, as one might imagine, on a supposition of their greater knowledge, integrity or honor; but because, as he says himself, "This being a leading case for the whole province, it would set a value, in their estimation, upon the goodness of the king's title, if found by those persons of quality." And on the other hand, if the king's title should not be found, or, as he expresses it, "if the jury should prevaricate," he would be sure then to have "persons of such means, as might answer to the king in a round fine in the castle-chamber; and because the fear of that fine would be apter to produce the desired effect in such persons, than in others, who had little or nothing to lose."

His lordship having thus prepared matters, went himself to the abbey of Boyle, in the county of Roscommon; "where," says he, "finding that divers affrights had been put into the people's minds, concerning his majesty's intention in this work, I sent for half a dozen of the principal gentlemen amongst them: and in the presence of the commissioners, desired that they would acquaint the rest of the country, that the end of my coming was, the next day to execute his majesty's commission, for finding a clear and undoubted title in the crown to the province of Connaught, proposing to begin first with the county of Roscommon; wherein, nevertheless, to

manifest his majesty's justice and honor, I thought fit to let them know, that it was his majesty's gracious pleasure that any man's counsel should be fully and willingly heard, in defence of their respective rights; being a favor never before afforded to any upon taking these inquisitions; as also, if there was any thing else they desired, that I was ready to hear them, and would return them a fair and equal answer thereunto, as by his majesty I had been strictly enjoined; and to afford his good people all respect and freedom in the setting forth and defence of their several rights and claims. With this," continues he, "I left them marvellously well satisfied, for a few good words please them more than can be imagined."

"The next morning, however," adds his lordship, "the gentlemen of the country petitioned, that the inquisition might be deferred to a longer time, they being unprovided; which I refused, as I had caused notice of it, by a scire facias, to be issued from the Chancery, twenty days before; which was more also than had formerly been accustomed, in cases of that nature. So presently," proceeds he, "we went to the place appointed, read the commission, called and swore the jury, and so on with our work."

"Sir Lucas Dillon was foreman of this jury, and seems to have behaved on this occasion entirely to the deputy's liking.* Nevertheless,

* "In truth," says he of this gentleman, "he deserves to be extraordinarily well dealt withal; and so he shall be, if it pleases his majesty to leave him to me."

after the lawyers on both sides had done speaking, lord Wentworth made a speech to the jury, which did not at all encourage them to use that freedom which he had promised to allow them, in returning an impartial verdict; but on the contrary, rather convinced them, that his lordship had already prejudged the cause against their countrymen. For among other things he told them, " that his majesty was indifferent whether they found for him or no; that he had directed him to press nothing upon them, where the path to his right lay so open and plain before him; but yet, that of himself, and as one that must ever wish prosperity to their nation, he desired them first to descend into their own consciences, to take them to counsel, and there they should find the evidence for the crown clear and conclusive. Next to beware, how they appeared resolved or obstinate, against so manifest a truth; or how they let slip out of their hands the means to weave themselves into the royal thoughts and care of his majesty, through a chearful and ready acknowledgment of his right, and a due and full submission thereunto. That if they would be inclined to truth, and do best for themselves, they were undoubtedly to find the title for the king. But if they were passionately resolved to go over all bounds to their own will, and without respect at all to their own good, to do that which were simply best for his majesty, then he should advise them roughly and pertinaciously, to deny to find any title at all; and there," says he, " I left them to chant together, as they call

it, over their evidence; and the next day they found the king's title without scruple or hesitation."

"The juries of the counties of Sligo and Mayo followed the example set them by that of Roscommon; but the jury of the county of Galway was, by no means, so complying; and they suffered grievously on that account.

"For, upon their refusing to find a title in the crown to the estates of their countrymen, lord Wentworth made use of some of his just and honourable means, to convince them of their mistake. "We bethought ourselves," says he on this occasion, "of a course to viudicate his majesty's honor and justice, not only against the person of the jurors,* but also against the sheriff for returning so insufficient, indeed we conceive so packed a jury; and therefore we fined the sheriff in a thousand pounds to his majesty." The mulct on the jurors was much greater. "They were fined four thousand pounds each; their estates were seized, and themselves imprisoned,† till the fines were paid." Such was the sentence pronounced against them in the castle-chamber, to which his lordship had bound them over; and where "he conceived it was fit, that

* "The star-chamber." says lord deputy Chichester, in 1613, "is the proper place to punish jurors that will not find for the king upon good evidence,"—Desid. Curios. Hib. vol. i. p. 262.

† "The jurors of Galway were to remain in prison, till each of them paid his fine of four thousand pounds, and acknowledged his offence in court upon his knees,"—Leland's Hist. of Irel. vol. iii. p. 32.

their pertinacious carriage should be followed with all just severity."

"What was then understood by "just severity," may be collected from an extract of the grievances which, towards the end of his administration, the commons voted "real;" and which, in one article, seems to allude to this very case, viz. "that jurors, who gave their verdict according to their consciences, were censured in the castle-chamber in great fines: sometimes pillored with loss of ears, and bored through the tongue, and sometimes marked in the forehead with an iron, with other infamous punishments."

"And although he had publicly promised, "that their council on this occasion should be freely and willingly heard, in defence of their respective rights;" yet he scrupled not to take severe vengeance on two eminent lawyers,* who ventured to plead in their behalf; and all his lordship's proceedings against them, and against the sheriff and jurors before-mentioned, were afterwards approved of by his majesty.†

* "As for the counsellors of the law," says he, "who so labored against the king's title, we conceive it is fit, that such of them as we shall find reason to proceed withal, be put to take the oath of supremacy, which if they refuse, that then they be silenced, and not admitted to practice." This was accordingly done.

† "He tell us himself, that upon his making a report to the king and council in England, of these proceedings, his majesty said, "It was no severity, wished him to go on in that way; for that if he served him otherwise, he should not serve him as he expected. So I kneeled down," adds he, "kissed his majesty's hand; and the council rose."

“ Another of his just and honorable means, to attain this end, as he himself informs us, “ was to enquire out fit men to serve upon juries; and to treat with such as would give furtherance to the king’s title.” He, besides, proposed the raising of four thousand horse, as good lookers-on, while the plantations were settling. And lastly, he prevailed on the king to bestow four shillings in the pound, upon the lord chief justice and chief baron, forth of the first yearly rent raised upon the commission of defective titles; “ which,” as he afterwards says, “ he had found, upon observation, to be the best given that ever was; for that by these means, they did intend that business with as much care and diligence, as if it were their own private; and that every four shillings, once paid, would better his majesty’s revenue four pounds.”

“ Against the deputy’s predatory designs, thus planned and executed, the natives were destitute of all manner of defence. “ No title in the subject could stand against his claim.” At first none was held good, but that which was founded on letters patent; yet when even letters patent were produced, as in most cases they were, none were allowed valid,* nor yet sought to be legally avoided; so that one hundred and fifty

* The deputy and commissioners of plantation, in their public dispatch to secretary Coke, on this subject, confessed, “ That in former plantations in Ireland, all men claiming by letters patent had the full benefit of them, either in enjoying the lands granted them, or other lands equivalent thereunto, whether their letters patent were valid or invalid. And

letters patent were set aside in one morning; which course was continued, until all the letters patent in the kingdom, except a few, were declared void.

“The gentlemen of Connaught,” says Mr. Carte, “labored under a particular hardship on this occasion; for their not having enrolled their patents and surrenders of the thirteenth Jacobi, (which was what alone rendered their titles defective) was not their fault, but the neglect of a clerk entrusted by them. For they had paid near three thousand pounds to the offices at Dublin, for the enrollment of these surrenders and patents, which was never made. There was an act of state made in lord Grandison’s time, and dated May 14th, 1618, full in their favor and confirmed their possessions; and they had paid great sums of money for it into the exchequer; they were quietly settled in their lands, and paid the king his composition better than any other part of the kingdom. It was hard, in those circumstances, to turn them out of their estates, upon a mere nicety of law, which ought to be tenderly made use of in derogation of the honor and faith of the king’s broad seal.”

“So general and lasting were the terrors arising from these severe proceedings of the deputy, that in 1637, the whole body of the gentry of the

indeed,” add they, “in those (former) plantations, that favor might better be yielded, where the lands claimed by letters patent, were not in any great or considerable proportion, than here, where almost all the lands falling under plantation are granted, or mentioned to be granted, by letters patent,”

county of Galway offered to make a surrender of their estates to the crown, and for that purpose, sent a letter of attorney to the earl of Clanrickard,* then at London, signed by an hundred and twenty-five persons of the best quality in the county. "At the same time, the still imprisoned sheriff and jurors, instead of seeking redress, petitioned, but in vain, for pardon; offering to acknowledge the deputy's justice, and their own errors of judgment, upon condition only, that they and the rest, might be put upon the same footing with the other planted countries;" for in these cases, the general rule was, that a fourth part of their lands should be taken from the natives, with an increase of rent upon the remainder; "but the county of Galway, on account of its former refractoriness, was planted at a double rate, so that they lost half."†

"For Wentworth was so far from being satisfied

* "It was in lord Clanrickard's house, that Wentworth held this court of inquisition; "and the death of that lord, (which happened soon after) enflamed the popular odium against the deputy. It was imputed to the vexation conceived by this nobleman at the attempts against his property by an insolent governor, who possessed himself of the earl's house at Portumna; and, in his hall, held that court which impeached his title to his lands."

† "Thus secretary Coke writes to Wentworth on this occasion, "That a greater proportion of land should be taken from the pretended owners in the county of Galway, than in the rest, is thought just and reasonable, for the reasons you allege. And such seizures as you intend both against the jurors and all others, that will not lay hold of the grace offered them by the proclamation."

"Mr. Carte indeed asserts (but upon what authority appears not), "that by the interposition of Ulick Burke, earl of

with this submissive petition and offer, that he insisted upon a public acknowledgment from these jurors of their having committed, not only an error in judgment, but even actual perjury, in the verdict they had given; which being refused by them, he, besides planting their country at the rate before-mentioned, procured an order from the king, that their agents in London should be sent prisoners to Dublin, to be tried before himself in the castle-chamber, for having dared to patronise their cause. These severities however, raised no small apprehensions in some that were about the king, and even the king himself, "lest they might disaffect the people of Ireland, and dispose them to call over the Irish regiments from Flanders to their assistance."

"About this time, "the bishops and their chancellors began again to question the catholics, and lay heavy fines upon them for their christenings and marriages. But the deputy wisely considered,

Clanrickard, in England, the fines of the sheriff and jury of Galway, were afterwards reduced, the plantations laid aside, and the inhabitants confirmed in the enjoyment of their estates, upon the like terms as the rest of the kingdom, without suffering the hardships, change of possessions, or other disagreeable circumstances, which attended a plantation."

"The sheriff and jury of Galway were imprisoned about the year 1634; and if we recollect, that upon Wentworth's making a report to the king in council, in the year 1636, of his proceedings towards these gentlemen, his majesty told him, "that it was no severity; and that if he served him otherwise, he should not serve him as he expected;" we shall find but little probability in Mr. Carte's assertion, especially since it appears that they still continued prisoners in the year 1687.

that it would be too much at once to distemper them by bringing plantations upon them, and disturb them in the exercise of their religion; and very inconsiderate to move in the latter, till the former was fully settled, and by that means, the protestant party become much the stronger, which he did not then conceive it to be." Finding, therefore, that these proceedings of the bishops had very much disquieted the catholics, and given them terrible apprehensions of an instant persecution, he wrote to England for orders to put a stop to them; "as," says he, "it is a course which alone will never bring them to church; but is rather an engine to draw money out of their pockets, than to raise a right belief in their hearts."

"All this while complaints were every where heard of grievances, arising from the court of wards, and that of the high commission. The former was a new court,* never known in Ireland

* "It is mentioned in the complaints of the Irish nobility and gentry in the year 1614, as an oppressive court. Lord deputy Chichester applauds it, among other reasons, because "there was a clause in every grant of wardship, that the wards should be brought up in the college near Dublin, in English habits and religion; which," adds he, "is the only cause of their grievance in this point."—Desid. Curios. Hibern. vol. i. p. 268.

"The king and English council to sir Arthur Chichester and Irish council, have these words, "Within what bounds his majesty wisheth you to contain yourselves, we mean to touch that point no farther at this time, saving only in answer to one point of your letter of the ninth of July (1606), to let you know, that if any motion shall be made here for reviving of a high commission, it shall appear that his majesty thinketh

till the fourteenth of James I. "It had no warrant from any law or statute, as that in England had." Sir William Parsons, by whom it was first projected, was appointed master of it, a man justly and universally hated by the Irish. And such were the illegal and arbitrary proceedings of that court, that "the heirs of catholic noblemen and other catholics were destroyed in their estates, bred in dissolution and ignorance; their parents' debts unsatisfied, their sisters and younger brothers left wholly unprovided for; the antient appearing tenures of mesne lords unregarded; estates valid in law, and made for valuable considerations, avoided against law; and the whole land filled with frequent swarms of escheators, feudatories, pursuivants, and others, by authority of that court."

"The unlimited power and great oppression of the high-commission court,* which was still more recent in Ireland, than the court of wards, was not less grievously complained of by the catholics, on account of the incapacity thereby contracted, for all offices and employments;† their disability

the same unseasonable, and therefore, without order from him, we require you to forbear to give any way to it."—*Ib.* p. 496.

* "Lord Wentworth proposed the erecting of the high-commission court in Ireland, in January 1633, "to bring," says he, "the people here to a conformity in religion; and, in the way to that, raise perhaps a good revenue to the crown."—*State Lett.* vol. i. fol. 188.

† "These regulations in the ecclesiastical system, were followed by an establishment too odious, and therefore too dangerous to be attempted during the sessions of parliament, that of an high-commission court, which was erected in

to sue out livery of their estates, without taking the oath of supremacy;* the severe penalties of various kinds inflicted by that court on all those of that religion, they being an hundred to one more than those of any other religion; in which respect, the case of Ireland was very different from that of England or Scotland, where there was scarce one Roman catholic to a thousand protestants."

" Yet, in the midst of so many depredations and pressures, the catholics of Ireland gave such unquestionable proofs of their loyalty and dutiful affection to the crown of England (and that also at a very critical juncture), as cannot, perhaps, be paralleled in the history of any other people under the like circumstances.

" These proofs were exhibited in that parliament which met at Dublin, in 1640, in order to raise large supplies towards suppressing the rebellion in Scotland, which had then risen to a formidable

Dublin after the English model, with the same formality, and the same tremendous powers."—*Leland's History of Ireland*, p. 28.

* " Sir Arthur Chichester, in a letter to the king and council in England, anno 1613, says, " By the statute of 2 Eliz. c. 1. in this kingdom (Ireland), 'tis ordained, that every person suing livery or ouster le maynes, shall, before his livery or ouster le maynes sued forth and allowed, take the oath of supremacy. And therefore they (the Irish) being obstinate recusants, are not permitted to sue forth their liveries under the great seal till they take the oath; and so they continue intruders upon the king's possession; for which intrusion, they are justly sued in the exchequer, and the damage they suffer is by their own wilful default and contempt of the law."—*Desid. Curios. Hibern.* vol. i. p. 263.

height. Their zeal on this occasion, was honorably attested by several privy-counsellors, members of that parliament, "persons," says Wentworth himself, "best able to satisfy, and in themselves most to be trusted." Among these, I find sir William Parsons, sir John Borlase, sir Charles Coote, and others, whose malevolence and enmity to the Irish in general, are well known and confessed; and whose testimony, therefore, in their favor cannot reasonably be suspected.

"After the proposal of such acts of grace, and advantage to the subject," say these privy-counsellors in their letter to secretary Windesbank, on this occasion, "as we conceived most fit to lead in order the propounding of the six subsidies, these six subsidies were demanded for his majesty; whereupon some of the natives declared that six or more were fit to be given, it being apparent that the peace and safety of the kingdom were become so nearly concerned. Some also of them said, that his majesty should have a fee simple of subsidies in their estates on such occasions, for the honor of his person and safety of his kingdoms; that it was fit to be done, though with leaving themselves nothing but hose and doublet. Some of them with much earnestness, after forward expressions of readiness towards advancing the business, concluded that, as his majesty was the best of kings, so this people should strive to be ranked among the best of subjects.

"Thus," continues the privy-counsellor's letter, "every of them seeming in a manner to

contend, who should show most affection and forwardness to comply with his majesty's occasions; and all of them expressing, even with passion, how much they abhorred and detested the Scotch covenanters; and how readily every man's hand ought to be laid on his sword, to assist the king in reducing them by force to obedience, they desired that themselves, and others of this nation, might have the honor to be employed in this expedition; and declared, with very great demonstration of chearful affection, that their hearts contained mines of subsidies for his majesty; that twenty subsidies, if their abilities were equal to their desires, were too little to be given to so sacred a majesty.

"In the end, considering how unable they were, without too much pressure to them, to advance more at this time, they humbly besought that by the lord lieutenant's interposition, four subsidies might be accepted from them; yet with this declaration, made by them with as much demonstration of loyalty, as ever nation or people expressed towards a king, that if more than four subsidies should be requisite, and the occasions of the war continued, they would be ready to grant more; or to lay down their lives and estates at his majesty's feet, to further his royal design for the correction of the disordered factions in Scotland. And this they did declare with general acclamations and signs of joy and contentment, even to the throwing up of their hats and lifting of their hands."

"But we are told by some reputable histo-

rians, that in the very next session, the untoward behaviour of these commons discovered the insincerity of their professions;* that they "who had just before devoted their lives and possessions to the service of the best of kings, grew cold, querulous and suspicious; objected to the rates of assessment, though the same which had been used in the late parliament; and in short, that a general combination was formed throughout the kingdom, to prevent the levying any money, until a new manner of taxation should be settled by the parliament; or in other words, until they should annul and rescind the late money bill, enacted with such remarkable zeal and unanimity."

"The late parliament here alluded to, was that which had met in Dublin in 1634, under lord Wentworth; who, as we have already seen, had formed and managed it entirely for his own and his master's private purposes. "His lordship regarded Ireland as a conquered kingdom, and from that conception deduced a consequence, at once ridiculous and detestable, that the subjects of this country, without distinction, had forfeited the rights of men and citizens, and for whatever

* "Lord Wentworth, who was certainly a more competent judge of that matter, than any historian that has since appeared, says on this occasion, "It is hardly to be believed, what a forwardness there is in this people to serve in this expedition (against the Scots); certainly, they will sell themselves to the last farthing, before they deny any thing, which can be asked of them, in order to that." In another letter he tells the king, "that their zeal is all on fire to serve his majesty."

they were permitted to enjoy, depended solely on the royal grace." Agreeably to these sentiments, he exercised a despotic, and indeed tyrannous, power over that parliament. "With one voice the commons voted a grant of six subsidies, four for paying the debts of the establishment, and two for buying rents and pensions; not that the uses were determined by a formal appropriation: they entrusted the management of their supply solely to the deputy, requesting only by petition, that it might be appropriated to these purposes."

"Such were the proceedings alluded to, as a proper precedent for the commons, in 1640, to have followed in the manner of rating their supplies. But these commons thought very differently of that precedent; for lord Wentworth, now earl of Strafford, having been recalled into England, and having left directions with his deputy, Wandesford, "his lordship's friend and ally, to issue the same instructions, for settling the rates of taxation, with regard to the present subsidies, as had been formerly issued concerning those granted by parliament in 1634" (which was accordingly done), the commons thought fit to make use of the liberty, which they now were possessed of by his absence; and knowing that the former grants were "exorbitant and oppressive," ventured to alter the mode of assessing three of these subsidies; declaring, at the same time, "that in consideration of his majesty's many and pressing occasions, the first of the four subsidies should be levied according to the instructions issued by the deputy and council; not

in deference to these instructions, but merely by their own authority and direction; and that neither these instructions, nor what was done in the late parliament (1634), with respect to the subsidies then raised, should be a guide or precedent, in levying the three other subsidies, which they ordered to be raised in a moderate, equal and parliamentary way. They likewise ordered, "as the second subsidy was not payable till December, and as it might conduce to his majesty's service, to hasten the payment of the third also, that both should be paid together, on the first of December 1640; six months earlier than the third subsidy had been made payable by the original grant."

"This particular care to hasten the payment of the first and third subsidies indicated, one would imagine, in these commons, some attention to his majesty's service. But his majesty, it seems, was persuaded to think otherwise; for we are told, that he looked upon this proceeding to be so ridiculous and insolent, that he ordered, "with a peevish impatience," the leaf in which this resolution was inserted, to be torn from their journals; which order was accordingly executed by the deputy, on the 19th of November 1640."

"But the king was soon after brought to a right way of thinking, concerning this particular. For on the fourth of January following, he wrote to the Irish council, (and ordered his letters to be publicly read in the house), "that having, by a committee of the commons of Ireland, received satisfaction, both in their loyalty and affection

unto him, and also in those matters which induced him to require his deputy to vacate an order made, concerning the levying of the subsidies granted in the same parliament; he was then graciously pleased, and did thereby authorize and require them, to cause the inclosed (the vacated order) to be again inserted and registered in the same place, to continue and be of equal force, as if the original had remained there."

"From hence it appears, that these commons were actuated by two very just and patriotic motives, viz. Opposition to a measure confessedly "exorbitant and oppressive," and a laudable desire, to recover their antient constitutional right of rating their own grants, which had been violently taken from them in the preceding parliament. But how it could possibly be inferred from such conduct, that they intended to annul and rescind their late money bill, or that they were united in a regular and determined scheme of opposition, for any disloyal or unconstitutional purpose, is, I think, very hard to be conceived.

"For the expedition against the Scottish rebels, lord Strafford had raised an army in Ireland, consisting of about nine thousand men; eight thousand of which number were Irish catholics. For his lordship knew, and did attest, that in the support or defence of his majesty's crown and dignity, "the Irish were as ready to venture their persons, as they were to open their purses."

"Sir William St. Leger, serjeant-major-general of the army, having reviewed these troops at Carrickfergus, saw such willingness and aptness

in them to learn their exercises, and that mettle and gallant appearance, which would recommend them to be chosen for a service where a crown lay at stake, made no scruple to pronounce, that considering how newly they had been raised, no prince in the christian world had, for their number, a better and more orderly body of men in his service.”*

“ Lord Strafford was extremely desirous to have the chief command of this army; but he was conscious, at the same time, that he was represented in England as a person odious to the people of whom it was chiefly composed; in short, “ as a vizier, bashaw, or any thing else that might be worse; and as one hateful both to God and man.” In order to remove that obstacle, he labored privately to persuade the king, “ that the Irish did not distate him so much as willingly to change him; or to desire any new deputy in his stead; and, that if it were left to their choice, they would not have any other general but himself.”

“ But his lordship found means to procure a much more persuasive testimony than his own, for this purpose; even a public and solemn attestation in his favor, from that house of commons; it was given nemine contradicente, and passed with loud and general acclamations of applause.”

“ Thus we see, that although this honorable testimony had not then the wished for success in

* “ The raising, cloathing, paying and providing this army, by the latter end of September 1640, when it was dispersed, cost £204,057.”

saving his lordship's person from the rage of his enemies, yet it has been since more effectually made use of by historians, to rescue his memory from that infamy, which his administration of Ireland particularly has brought upon it. But Mr. Carte has very imperfectly related another passage recorded in the same journals of the commons, from whence he took this eulogium, viz. The solemn protestation of these commons against it, (in which they were joined by the lords) to this effect; that the "aforesaid preamble to the act of subsidies, was contrived, penned, and inserted fraudulently, (without the privity of the house,) either by the earl of Strafford himself, or by some other person or persons, advisers, procurors or actors of or in the manifold and general grievances and oppressions of his majesty's kingdom of Ireland, by the direction and privity of the said earl, on purpose to prevent and anticipate the just and universal complaints of his majesty's faithful, dutiful and loving subjects against him." And they required their committee, then attending his majesty, "to present unto him that their protestation and proofs thereof; and likewise to present unto his majesty, their humble request, that an act might be passed in that parliament for revoking, vacating, and taking from the records of parliament, the before-recited part of the preamble concerning the earl of Strafford."

"The reason they assigned in that protestation, for having suffered this part of the preamble to pass, when it was first communicated to them,

was, " that before such time as that act (having been formerly transmitted to England, and returned from thence) was read or known in the house, the said earl of Strafford did declare and signify to both houses of parliament, his majesty's urgent and great occasions; and the near and approaching danger, that Ireland was suddenly to be invaded by the Scots; and thereupon, and not before, the said act was read, and made known in the house of commons; and that their natural and fervent zeal and devotion to his majesty's service, and the fears of the said declared imminent danger, and the inconveniencies which they suspected might ensue, if they then had excepted against the said part of the preamble, concerning the earl of Strafford, and had expected a new transmission, as a statute of force in this realm, doth require, did occasion and enforce, their not then speaking, or protesting against the said part of the preamble."⁴⁴

Another fatal tragedy is now to be exhibited on the desolated plains of Erin, so often ensanguined with the blood of its best inhabitants, torn asunder and preyed on by its voracious enemies. The insurrection of 1641, which scourged a country so often wasted, furnishes a theme to the adversaries of the catholic church, and of Ireland, for publishing false and scandalous libels on the inhabitants of this country, and the religion they profess. Whatever part of Europe you travel, especially in countries professing any of the innovation creeds, you will find these calumnies re-echoed in histories, geographies,

and divers other publications, in every diversity of language. Like fame, as described by Virgil, *ingrediturque solo, et caput inter nubila condit*, defamation of Ireland, and the true church of Christ, stalks over the earth with colossal strides, and hides its head in clouds and mists.

The historians of those sad times, whether from ignorance, prejudice or malice, have given very contradictory and absurd accounts of the causes, beginnings and progress of that civil war. Determined, at any rate, to find the Irish guilty of a causeless and furious rebellion, to destroy all protestants and English therein, they take, with the gratuitous aspersions of avowed enemies, the false rumours, played off to answer party purposes in times of civil commotion, as proofs of fact; and thus, instead of handing over an historical picture, in which the characters, with all their faults, are still human, they present us with an hideous caricature, exhibiting heroes on one side, and demons on the other, somewhat like Milton's battle between Satan and Michael. The incongruity and absurdity of such historical sketches, require no great store of information, only a little penetration, to be detected, and exposed to contempt. An exposure of the misrepresentations, divulged by party malice, and ignorant prejudice, may clear the character of a long-suffering, greatly injured, and foully slandered nation, from vile imputations; and cure some, who influence their affairs, of unjust and illiberal prejudices. Written in the spirit of impartial truth, history is, indeed, philosophy

teaching by example. Through a faithful historical display of human nature, in all the relative situations of social life, of peace and war, of politics and religion, we shall learn the powerful action of circumstances on the human mind, and feel some indulgence for the frailties of nations, and great descriptions of men, impelled by their combined pressure. If all the circumstances, antecedent and concomitant, could be now reproduced, the generation, that condemns the troubles, excited in both islands in the latter end of Charles's unfortunate reign, would act them over again; fond as every age is, of claiming to itself superior illumination and political prudence.

The history of calamitous periods, so dreadful to the actors on the scene, and distressing to the feelings of any writer, not destitute of humanity, is not the least useful portion. By furnishing salutary precautions against encouraging or cherishing the animosities of religious or political faction, it will contribute not a little to prevent the recurrence of similar evils. On which account, had Edmund Burke employed his great talents, in giving a just and lively picture of the disastrous civil wars, in the reign of Charles I. such a production would have more effectually served the cause of Louis the unfortunate, than the violent torrent of eloquent abuse poured to little purpose on the French assembly. False history has a contrary effect; for, by feeding the angry passions, that produced and prolonged the miseries so unfairly described, it perpetuates them in

part, and constantly threatens their recurrence. It is much worse, when party malevolence is kept alive and fomented, by annual commemorations of party success or calumny, invented by Machiavel statesmen for the ruin of some party in religion or politics. When such insane exhibitions are countenanced by public authority, they must be considered as annual manifestoes, provoking civil war. Of such pernicious complection have generally been, the malignant satires, calling themselves Histories of the Irish Rebellion. Concealment of truth, utterance of falsehood, distortion of features, and false colouring, abound in their studied misrepresentations.

To understand, and give a clear unbiassed elucidation of that great national event, for which we remain indebted to our masters, it will be necessary to scan its causes, proximate and remote. We must view the collateral impulses, which forced, set it in motion, extended and continued the progressive ruin, until it covered the island with ashes and blood. Among the foremost causes of general discontent, must be numbered, the tyrannic and impolitic government of the Stuarts over this country. When James ascended the throne of England, he found this country completely subdued, yielding cheerful obedience to the crown of England. It was some consolation to the humbled Milesians, to behold an acknowledged memorial of their antient greatness in the person of their monarch; to whom, on that very account, had he the

honour to keep his treaty, their gratitude would be perpetual, and the attachments of loyalty heightened into enthusiastic. Of these men lord Bacon said, that policy dictated the expediency of yielding them possession of their lands; because the acquisition of such subjects for the land would be a great purchase. Lord Mountjoy, attesting to James the bravery with which the northern Irish so long withstood the power of England, her Irish allies, and the horrible means employed against them, passed his word that they would continue in their loyalty with equal perseverance; and that the North would be found the most obedient part of Ireland. No. James, misled by the evil genius of his family, adopted the cowardly and perfidious scheme of the fabricated plot, to colour his breach of treaty, five years after signing it. He exterminated a magnanimous race, who would be as pretorian cohorts to his families, and planted in their place those, who, in the reign of his son, proved themselves enemies to him and the monarchy. Not content with plundering one province, he sets up tablets of proscription throughout the nation, by a state inquisition into every man's property; fining and imprisoning gentlemen on juries, for not per-juring themselves to despoil their neighbour and find for the king. Fines, imprisonments, and legal incapacities, as before stated, inflicted for conscience sake. Forty rotten boroughs created, to give the king's arbitrary and tyrannic oppression a semblance of legal sanction!

The same infatuated lust of making the

Irish groan under intolerable hardships, led his son to pursue the same illegal course of oppression, mixed with insulting contempt. The only plea, that can be offered in extenuation, is confined to the democratic policy of the English commons; who, from the very commencement of his reign, studiously involved him in foreign war, and treacherously withheld the supplies necessary for carrying it on; thus leaving him no alternative, but to barter away the prerogative, step by step, until the monarchy either became contemptible, and consequently extinct; or support the government by unconstitutional exactions. He had recourse to the latter, moderately, in England; while, in Ireland, royal plunder exceeded all bounds. It is very remarkable, that the instrument he chose for plundering the Irish of their property, fining, torturing and confining them for their religion, was, while known by the name of Sir Thomas Wentworth, one of the most strenuous assertors of civil liberty, and impugners of arbitrary taxation in the long parliament, of which he was one of the leading members.

“He, I must confess, is no good subject, who would not, willingly and cheerfully, lay down his life, when that sacrifice may promote the interests of his sovereign, and the good of the commonwealth. But he is not a good subject, he is a slave, who will allow his goods to be taken from him against his will, and his liberty against the laws of the kingdom. By opposing these practices, we shall but tread in the steps of

our forefathers, who still preferred the public before their private interest, nay, before their very lives. It will in us be a wrong done to ourselves, to our posterities, to our consciences, if we forego this claim and pretension."

"The grievances, by which we are oppressed, I draw under two heads; acts of power against law, and the judgment of lawyers against our liberty.

"I can live, though another, who has no right, be put to live along with me; nay, I can live, though burdened with impositions, beyond what at present I labour under: but to have my liberty, which is the soul of my life, ravished from me; to have my person pent up in a jail, without relief by law, and to be so adjudged,—O, improvident ancestors! O unwise forefathers! to be so curious in providing for the quiet possession of our lands, and the liberties of parliament; and at the same time, to neglect our personal liberty, and let us lie in prison, and that during pleasure, without redress or remedy! If this be law, why do we talk of liberties? Why trouble ourselves with disputes about a constitution, franchises, property of goods, and the like? What may any man call his own, if not the liberty of his person."

"The same topics were enforced by sir Thomas Wentworth. After mentioning projectors and ill ministers of state. "These," said he, "have introduced a privy council, ravishing, at once, the spheres of all ancient government: destroying all liberty; imprisoning us without bail

or bond. They have taken from us——What shall I say? Indeed, what have they left us? By tearing up the roots of all property, they have taken from us every means of supplying the king, and of ingratiating ourselves by voluntary proofs of our duty and attachment towards him.

“ To the making whole all these breaches, I shall apply myself; and to all these diseases, shall propound a remedy. By one and the same thing, have the king and the people been hurt, and by the same must they be cured. We must vindicate: What? New things? No: our antient, legal, and vital liberties; by re-inforcing the laws, enacted by our ancestors; by setting such a stamp upon them, that no licentious spirit shall dare henceforth to invade them. And shall we think this a way to break a parliament? No: our desires are modest and just. I speak both for the interest of king and people. If we enjoy not these rights, it will be impossible for us to relieve him. Let us never, therefore, doubt of a favourable reception from his goodness.”*

In the English commons, Wentworth made no allowance for regal extortion, on the plea of state necessity; while, in Ireland, he carried it to extremities incredible, were not the rapacity of this English Verres made evident, beyond all possibility of doubt or suspicion. The plea of necessity might be suitable to a plundered gentleman, like Redmond O’Hanlon, seeking subsistence on the high way; but very unbecoming a great

* Hume. Hist. of England.

prince. However, one thing is clear, as shall be seen in the sequel, that most of his acts, whether compulsory or voluntary, tended to his own ruin.

Notwithstanding the sufferings of the Irish, briefly recapitulated in their complaint of grievances, they remained the loyal subjects of Charles, until England and Scotland were in full rebellion; whence the first sparks of combustion lighted on the North, and whence continual additional fuel, until the blaze pervaded the whole island.

The grievances which the Irish commons had voted, "of their own knowledge to be so clear and manifest, that no place was left for denial of proof," were great and numerous. Part of those recited in their journals, are the scandalous extortions of the ecclesiastical courts,* for old popish rites and customs, condemned and renounced by those very persons who then so greedily exacted the profits formerly annexed to them, which, it seems, they still deemed orthodox; great sums of money received by several bishops, for commutation of penance, which they converted to their own use; the lord deputy's punishing the natives by fine, imprisonment, mutilation of members, pillory, or otherwise arbitrarily, and without law; and making them

* "The dissenters of Ulster, in their petition to the English house of commons in 1640, did not fail to take notice of these abuses. "The prelates," say they, "and their faction, as they inherit the superstition of the papacy, so of late they exact, with all severity, the obsolete customs of St. Mary's gallons, mortuaries, &c. which, as they were given by superstition, and used to idolatry, so now they are taken by oppression, and applied to riotousness."

forfeit their liberty, possessions and inheritance, merely for infringing an act of state or proclamation; the sentencing the subjects to death, by martial law, in times of profound peace; the issuing quo warrantos out of the king's-bench or exchequer, against boroughs, that antiently and recently sent burgesses to parliament; the censuring of jurors in the castle-chamber, that gave verdict according to their consciences, with mutilation of members, and other infamous punishments; the taking of the testimony of rebels, traitors, protected thieves, and other infamous persons, upon trials of men for their lives. And they particularly complained of the insecurity of their estates, by means of the enquiry into defective titles, which was still carried on with great rigor; humbly praying his majesty, "that he would be graciously pleased to direct that bills might be drawn in the house of commons, and transmitted from the chief governor or governors, and privy-council of Ireland, to be passed as acts of that parliament, for the redress of these grievances, and for the security of their estates, as their respective cases, for their better assurance, should require."

"It has been of late objected, that this remonstrance of grievances, was not fairly and deliberately voted in the Irish parliament; but that, on the contrary, it was "abruptly presented to the house, not suffered to be spoken to, and passed in the midst of tumult and disorder." But this objection now appears to be nothing more than a partial and groundless surmise: for

“ some of the grievances in it, had been presented by parliament to the deputy, in June preceding, as found real and enormous, after many debates.” And as for those lately added, viz. the “ tremendous powers” of the high-commission court, the denial of the promised graces, &c. it is notorious, that they had been long before complained of, as intolerable, both in and out of parliament. It appears by the journals, “ that a grand committee was appointed to sit upon the grievances of the country, on the twelfth of October, 1640; and that, on the seventh of the following month, an order was passed, that the particular matters expressed in the remonstrance in question, being thrice read, required present redress, and should be forthwith represented to the right honourable the lord deputy, by Mr. Speaker and the whole house.” Another order was passed on the ninth, “ that Mr. Speaker, for the greater solemnity, should read the remonstrance twice, and that it should be afterwards presented to the lord deputy.” On the eleventh, “ a committee was appointed, consisting, among others, of the vice-treasurer, the master of the rolls, and the chancellor of the exchequer, to wait upon the deputy, to know when he would give his answer to the remonstrance.” And on the twelfth, “ a committee was again appointed, to attend his lordship for his answer;” which appears then to have been, “ that the commons should confer with some of the lords of the privy-council, (not, as has been supposed, with the house of lords) concerning the nature of the grievances complained

of." But to this conference, as being contrary to their privileges, the commons refused to consent; "in regard that the contents of their remonstrance had been already voted in their house for grievances;" for which refusal, the deputy prorogued them on the same twelfth of November. And thus it evidently appears, that this remonstrance, instead of being abruptly presented to the house, not suffered to be spoken to, and passed in the midst of tumult and disorder, was agitated, for several days, with due deliberation and regularity, and at length agreed to, after many readings and debates."*

The catholic nobility and gentry of Ulster, in their address to his majesty, (Charles I.) "with much grief express their sense of their general sufferings and pressures since the beginning of his late majesty's, his royal father's reign, being almost forty years, and the only time of continued peace they enjoyed these latter ages, in all which time, through the corruption of the governors, and state of the realm, though for redress of their grievances frequent suit had been made by them, yet that therein they could never obtain any part of their desires, but rather had endured a continual servitude than the freedom of subjects, being not permitted in all that space to enjoy their birthright, or the benefit of the fundamental laws of the realm, nor admitted to have property in their goods or lands, for that a tyrannical government had been continually

* Currie. Hist. Rev.

exercised over them all that time, in a more strict and cruel manner than in Turkey or any other infidel country, though by the antient fundamental laws of the kingdom, no subjects in Europe can challenge more freedom or liberty."

In order, therefore, to understand the beginnings and progress of the civil war of 1641, we must, after reviewing the predisposing irritations, occasioned by the long-continued oppression, plunder and persecution of James and Charles, take a view, likewise, of the causes, origin and progress of the combined rebellions of England and Scotland, whose preparatory means unquestionably forced these two kings to illegal extortions, and influenced them to plunder the Irish, and whose collateral impulse kindled and fanned the flame.

The innovations of religion were, as every where else, accompanied in the neighbouring island with a spirit of resistance to all established authorities, that would discountenance or oppose them. Mary of England experienced some of this, and Mary of Scotland became its victim. Their successors having embraced the reformed doctrines, the catholic church, enfeebled by power and wealth, enervated by long ease, luxury and indolence, fell an easy prey to the joint assaults of power, persecution, corruption and fanaticism, managed with matchless fraud and consummate address, under the guidance of artful Bess, the life and directress of the innovators in both kingdoms. The reformers, on their rupture with Rome, appealed to scripture, private judgment, and the

spirit, spurning the authority of the church, the precedents of antiquity, and its prescriptive title, venerable by its descent from the apostles, the consent of the great majority of christians, and sanctioned by the promises of its founder, taken in their obvious meaning. Extremes naturally beget each other. As the exceeding wealth and temporal power of the church, with the abuses engendered therefrom, gave the necessity of a real reform, and pretence for the pretended one, so the usurpation of spiritual authority, on the faculties, in the departments of science, beyond the sphere of its jurisdiction, produced an opposition to its authority, even within its legitimate boundaries. The reformers were more consistent in embracing the extreme of freethinking; since, rejecting all established authorities and precedents, save what might be deduced from the catalogue of heresies, unable to claim divine mission from miracle or prophecy, they had no expedient left, but to invite every one to judge for himself, as freely as he pleased, on religious matters.

The temporal powers, who admitted or encouraged these innovations, sensible of the danger of leaving the wild gas of enthusiastic imaginations, heated by controversial contagion, and bible speculations on mysterious doctrines, conveyed in language almost as mysterious, to rove at large, attempted to restrain the freedom of airy speculations within some limits. They saw, that, without the restraint of some association, confined to the profession of some common form

of prayer and ceremonies, society, on the fundamental principles of the reform, would be dissolved into numberless conventicles, differing from each other in faith and practice, untill, by a necessary progression, it ended in individuality, indifference, and infidelity. It was necessary, therefore, to establish a church, with some officiating, teaching ministry; with some form of discipline, and ecclesiastical constitution, under the control of the civil power. The influence they acquired by the magistrate over the public mind, must be repaid to the ministry in livings and protection. Conscious of its human institution, like a ricketty child, it will cry out, its life is in danger. It must be supported by exclusive privileges, and guarded by pains and penalties, against the horrible dilemma in which it is placed, between opposite adversaries. When it appeals to authority, against dissenters, they repel the insolent usurpation, by an appeal to its own fundamental principle, the bible, the spirit, private judgment. When they argue against the authority of the catholic church, they are asked, why then assume authority? Wherefore a particular creed, to which all must subscribe; and particular forms of prayer, sacraments, and ceremonies, to which all must conform? Above all, why punish non-conformity to your fallible opinions? May it not be error punishing truth; or do you claim, contrary to your own principles, that guidance of the Holy Ghost, which you deny the mother church, to which alone the characters, expressed in your creeds, belong?

Instruction, not punishment, is due to errors of the mind; and Christ inflicted no temporal punishment for disbelief. Will it be said, he had no power to punish. He that raised the dead to life, could he not slay? Who cured all sorts of diseases, could he not chastise with corporal infirmities? To return.

The doctrines of Calvin, with the presbyterian discipline, were established in Scotland; the church of England was established by Elizabeth, on a different model from all other branches of the reformed; approaching nearest in its hierarchy, discipline, prayers, sacraments and ceremonies, to the mother church, Rapin thought, that the reason the Scotch rejected episcopacy, and established presbytery, was on account of the great opposition given by the Scotch bishops to the reform. But the opposition of the English bishops was more unanimous and strenuous; for which they were all deposed and imprisoned. Hence it was, that Bess's preachers, finding no catholic bishops to ordain them, with much complaisance, at the Nag's-head tavern, laid hands on each other, mutually conferring what they had not received. No. Bess would have bishops in the church, as lords in state, ornaments and props to her throne. The Scotch, embracing the doctrine of Knox, and other calvinistic preachers, looked to Switzerland, Geneva and Holland, as models, and established the Kirk. The maxim that determined the Dutch, in chusing their form of church government, might also influence the councils of a nation not very

opulent, "That the cheapest appeared the best;" that bishops were expensive pageants that could be dispensed with. In a vehement rancor against popery and arbitrary power, and a strong attachment to democratical principles, this sect far exceeded that established in England. The long war of Spain against the Dutch, professing nearly similar principles, contending for civil and religious liberty, together with the cruelties practiced by the Spaniards, in their vicinity, were of a nature to strengthen their attachment to democracy, and encrease their abhorrence of popery and arbitrary power. The long and destructive wars of religion, waged in France and Germany, furnished incessant fuel to the fury of religious hatred, nor could any ravenous wild beasts, in the center of African forests, persecute or tear each other to pieces, with more merciless rage, than did christian sects, fighting about a religion commanding mutual love and forgiveness of injuries. What infernal malice rankled in people's breasts on this subject towards each other, is evident from the sermons, pamphlets, speeches in parliament, handed down to us from these angry times. Anger, shall I call it? It was a pestilential madness, epidemic to them unhappy times. It was the delirious phrenzy of enraged fanatics, boiling hot from the alembic of hell, metamorphosing them into carnal devils, hurling death and destruction on each other here, and eternal damnation hereafter.

Will any man object to this description of those calamitous times, that it savours of a bigotted

aversion to the new sects, and their religious innovations? The censure would be unjust. For, while I must agree with the catholic principle, that, in the idea and definition of revelation, paramount authority is so essentially included, that it cannot even be conceived without it. While I must admit, that all supernatural communications, made by this divine authority, either directly, or by proxy, or legation, must be implicitly admitted, without dispute or cavil. Though it cannot be denied, that a bequest, for the benefit of all mankind, during all ages, must be universally diffused, and to perpetuity preserved. Though it would be blasphemy to say, that God, who, necessarily, from the sovereign perfection of his nature, annexed these attributes of universality and perpetuity to the promulged gospel of salvation, to all the children of men, who would accept and fulfil the terms, as he caused his other light of the material world to shine on the just and unjust, for their great comfort and happiness here and hereafter, if they will use and not abuse it. Notwithstanding the inconceivable folly and inconsistency of worshipping our Saviour as God, and yet disbelieving his promises of those attributes of revealed religion, so essentially a part of that revelation, as emanating from infinite power, wisdom and love, that it could never have been made without them. Though I cannot admit, that the Son of God built, like a fool, his house on the sandy foundation of private opinion, to tumble when the rain fell and the storm blew. Why? Because

precise private judgment he meant by the sandy foundation. As the sand, heated by the sun, is impregnated with a repulsive power, and is blown away by every gust of wind. As the falling drops of rain are clothed with an electric share of repulsion, forbidding their approach towards each other, and causing them to descend parallel, and not in cataracts; so private judgments, restif to authority, impregnated with a dangerous conceit, deluded by a delirious imagination of I know not what spirit, essentially and necessarily become repulsive. Dissent and redissent, and dissent from dissent, in an infinite series, is the essence and definition of the sandy foundation of private judgment and dissention in matters of faith. Christ built on a rock. What rock? The rock of authority divine: first, immediate and present; then delegated, perpetuated, set upon a high hill, conspicuous to all nations for ever. Rock, meant two things; first, the person in whom, and through whom, the authority of Christ; and the person or persons, to whom he delegated the authority, until his second glorious appearance. Secondly, the declaration and recognition of that authority. In the first sense, his declaration to Peter is to be understood. Asking his disciples, what do people say of me? They answered, some say you are John the Baptist, others Elias, more Jeremias, or some one of the number of the prophets. Whom do you yourselves think I am? Peter answered. Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God. Thou art blessed, Simon Bar-jona, because flesh and blood hath not revealed

this to thee, but my father who is in heaven. And I likewise declare to thee, that thou art the rock, and upon this rock I shall build my church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it; and I shall give you the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and whatsoever thou bindest on earth shall be bound in heaven, and whatsoever thou loosenest shall be loosened.

This declaration, from the highest authority, is full, satisfactory, evident beyond appeal. By the kingdom of heaven here is meant the spiritual kingdom of God, the church of Christ, like the tunic he wore, one and indivisible. Here he promises perpetual duration, until the awful day that the kingdom is to be changed from terrestrial to celestial, with an assurance that decay or death should never reach her. The words *dalte sheól* admit no other meaning. *Sheól* had two meanings: 1st. The secundina, or thin membrane enveloping an infant in the womb. The second, the grave; as a sort of secundina or tegument, containing our mortal remains in the dark womb of the earth until the second birth. All we must die, and pass into *sheól*, in the second sense; but the church, declared immortal by its founder, cannot be subdued by *sheól*; i.e. by death, decay, or the grave. To Peter he gave the keys of the kingdom of heaven, i.e. of his spiritual kingdom, the church, with power of binding and loosening; and that whatsoever he bound or loosened, should be bound and loosened in heaven. Here there is a difference between the kingdom of heaven, and heaven simply without

addition. In the latter, a literal sense is clear, that opposition to the head of the church, in his spiritual capacity, is opposition to God. Peter is called cephias, a rock; but not every rock indiscriminately. It is the angular stone of the foundation of a building. In this sense Christ himself is called a rock, *petra autem erat Christus*. The stone, rejected by the builders, became the corner-stone. Cephas is so called, because the form of the corner-stone must be in conformity to the plan of the building, and the prop of its firmness: thus did he constitute Peter prime minister of his new and imperishable kingdom, in as clear sense as language can convey. First, he pronounced him by his new title the corner stone; secondly, he gave him the keys; thirdly, he gave him the power to loose and bind, with the seal of divine assent. Some dissenters say, that the rock here meant was, the confession of St. Peter; to excuse their separation from the church and its head. Yes, properly understood, that also was meant: not merely the words, thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God, for so much was confessed by evil spirits, but the authority on which that confession was grounded. "Flesh and blood hath not revealed that to thee, but my father who is in heaven," i. e. you sought no proofs from miracles or prophecy, but implicitly submitted to the authority dictating to you. Of this authority Peter was but delegate, conservator and dispensator, to hand it to his successors as he received it. The confession of Peter, is, therefore, not only an acknowledgement of the

Messiahship of Christ, but a recognition of the corner-stone of his church, the cephas of authority divine; immediate, with Christ, delegated to Peter, as head to his colleagues and their successors, co-ministers, co-adjutors, yet subordinate to one common head. Those, who fled from the rock, and betook themselves to sandy foundations, of whose pernicious effects they will be sensible; whenever God, in his mercy, removes the veil of prejudice, obscuring their light for the present, have no foundation for accusing me of prejudice, or partiality, for adhering to principles thus evident. How could I honor him as an inspired prophet, and doubt words so clear and evident, that I must abandon common sense before I question the sense in which the church receives them. If they wanted illustration, or confirmation, which they do not, other passages of the New Testament, clear and strong to the same purpose, might be adduced, Let these suffice for the present,

Having thus far justified, at least to my own satisfaction, the preference to catholic principles, I would zealously oppose any insult to be offered to any individual, belonging to the multifarious species and genera that compose the large and diversified hortus siccus of dissent. As Burke humorously said, in remarking on Dr. Price's exhortation to multiply dissent, in case any one could not please his fancy, or adapt his conscience to any of the existing modes of dissent. First, because, for mental errors, man is responsible to his creator only. Secondly, because any

species of persecution is directly contrary to reason, and is of a nature to defeat the views of the persecutor; inasmuch as it embitters and prejudices the mind against the opinions of the persecutor. Thirdly, because the divine authority of him, who makes his sun shine on the just and unjust, who bid us love our enemies, do good for evil, and gave us a lesson and precept in the parable of the good Samaritan, to love dissenters as if they were of our own communion. Fourthly, because God willed the separation and its consequences, and employs them as instruments in the mysterious operations of his government. In the great laboratory of nature, which is but another name for the workshop of God, whether the physical or moral world be considered, there are wheels within wheels, of awful and inscrutable intricacy, until he chuses to let a little of them be seen. Wherefore did a pretended prophet, in the desarts of Arabia, form a scheme of religion, whose followers over-ran the greatest part of Asia, and great portions of Africa and Europe, humbling the Eastern, and almost annihilating the African church? For the same reason, that Luther and Calvin, with the rest of the fraternity, were enabled to separate considerable portions of the western church. It did not become the spouse of his Christ, whose kingdom is not of this world, to court or wed the mammon of iniquity, or temporal power. Her founder and protector declared, that no man can serve God and mammon. She too long served the latter; the inference is inevitable. He told her, that

the enemy offered himself all the kingdoms of the earth, of all which he pretended an authority to dispose. What was this, but a warning not to succumb to the greatest temptation the adversary could throw in her way. Why was he born in a manger, in poverty, and educated by a poor family? Why live and preach in poverty, often destitute of a place whereupon to lay his head? Wherefore was he spit on, scourged and nailed to a cross between two thieves? Was it that preachers of his doctrine should, in opposition to his express command, be lords and princes, and lord it even with a rod of iron over kings and princes? Ecclesiastical history, however cautiously written, cannot be read, without perceiving the decay of religion, discipline and morals, occasioned by the great influx of wealth and temporal power on the hierarchy. Hence an influx of men to fill the higher ranks of the church, without other vocation, than the love of wealth and power. Men of the world, rank with all the pride, luxury and corruption of aristocracy, how could they be the salt of the earth? If salt partake the nature of fat pork, beef and mutton, how will it season or preserve them? It is unnecessary to dwell on what is obvious to every one, ever so little conversant in history. Did he not declare to them, that no man can serve God and mammon? much more applicable to men, who profess to renounce the world for the service of God, and live in celibacy, than to the great bulk of mankind, who, having the burden of rearing and providing for a family,

must bustle through life for bread. Can it be denied, that far too many of God's professed ministers, have zealously served the mammon of iniquity, and have heaped up treasures on earth, as proof that their hearts were there also? What is related of the devil's carrying up our Saviour to the top of a mountain, in whatever way it is viewed, cannot appear but as a strong warning against worldly-mindedness; teaching, that the offer of temporal wealth and power would be the most dangerous temptation the devil could throw in their way. In short, a reform was necessary, and wished for by the most pious and learned of christians, not excepting cardinal Bellarmine, De Gemitu Columbæ; not of faith, but of discipline, ecclesiastical constitution, and morals. As no diseased body can reform itself, it must come from without, with much violence, done with fire and sword, and shedding of blood. It was for this, that fanatic Mussulmen prostrated the pride of the eastern empire and church. For this end also, the numerous sects, that with great fury proceeded to overturn all antient institutions, propagating sedition and civil war wherever they succeeded. As Swift humorously said, on pretence of quarrelling with the embroidery, they lacerated the coat; yet their erroneous and violent methods of reform, were necessary, to forward a real and radical reform in the church, to separate the temporal and spiritual authorities, and ease the ministers of religion from the enormous pressure of mammon, that chained down their energies in the pursuit of filthy lucre, making them

indolent and inefficient. As it was pride, wealth, and power, that caused all those schisms between the Greek and Latin churches, as well as in Europe, the absence of these will conduce to revive the primitive charity and humility of christians, in order to heal these wounds. It was for this divine purpose, that, under pretence of zeal for God and religion, those long and bloody wars were carried on, that desolated so great a part of Christendom for centuries. It was for this object England got the dominion of the sea, colonized America, sought to enslave her colonies, whence the unparalleled phenomenon, the French Revolution. Had the English accepted offers of peace, the most submissive, France would not have passed her frontier; nor would Europe have been subdued. This would not have answered the views of providence. Coalition after coalition, called forth those prodigies of genius, valor and success, as inclined all men to behold something supernatural in it; some ascribing it to God, and others to the devil. It was with some knowledge of these principles, that the writer of these pages foretold so many remarkable events, long before they happened; as many living witnesses can attest. Great events are not as yet remote, foreign to the present subject.

If any one ask, what has this dissertation on the movements of the moral system, influencing religion, morality and society, to do with Irish history? It has much connexion with the history of every nation. Without touching on the springs,

that operate so powerfully on the minds and actions of nations. Without tracing events to their causes, remote as well as proximate, occasional and efficient; we view things with the circumscribed optics of a mole confined to its hole and hillock. As St. Paul, rightly translated, says, we know things but superficially and by comparison. 'Tis, therefore, the task of an historian, not to relate the affairs of nations like the adventures of a romance or novel, but to illustrate them by comparisons; by tracing them to their causes, whether these lie in human nature in general, or in the peculiar character, and institutions, civil and religious, and other circumstances materially influencing human conduct. Irish history, as much as that of any other people, is interested in such disquisitions; for religion, at all times, formed a marked feature in her character, and was one of the principal regulators in all her institutions and conduct. Before Christianity, she was, by the unanimous voice of antiquity, denominated the sacred island, and the mart of literature. Since Christianity, she preserved, for many centuries, the same honorable pre-eminence, until the invasion of sanguinary barbarians quenched her glory in the blood of its best inhabitants. Her enemies I heard say, that indeed she was formerly the Island of Saints, but now is become the Island of Devils. If the latter part of the assertion be true, is it not worth while to examine the causes of so deplorable a catastrophe; and ask, with the plaintive Jeremiah, weeping over the ruins of his fallen country,

“How has the purest of gold been tarnished with such base alloy!” However that be, ’tis necessary to relate the progress of religious innovations, and the principal influence they had, in producing those dissensions between king and people, which led to the violent convulsions, that blew up the monarchy and high church, and covered Ireland with ruins. When Elizabeth, from hatred to the pope, and his religion, opened a channel for, and even encouraged these novelties, she did not foresee the wild fervor with which fanaticism would go to work. As soon as she saw the effervescence with which this wild gas was labouring to subvert present order, as established, she endeavored to confine and check its operation. During her reign, it was contented to work unobservedly, preparing the mine and sap, which were successfully worked in the reigns of her two successors. The chief managers and agents, in this horrific tragedy, are thus described by Hume. “Amidst that complication of disputes, in which men were then involved, we may observe, that the appellation, puritan, stood for three parties, which, though commonly united together, were yet actuated by very different views and motives. There were the political puritans, who maintained the highest principles of civil liberty; the puritans in discipline, who were averse to the ceremonies and episcopal government of the church; and the doctrinal puritans, who rigidly defended the speculative system of the first reformers. In opposition to all these stood the court-party, the hierarchy,

and the Arminians; only with this distinction, that the latter sect, being introduced a few years before, did not as yet comprehend all those who were favourable to the church and to monarchy. But, as the controversies on every subject grew daily warmer, men united themselves more intimately with their friends, and separated themselves wider from their antagonists; and the distinction gradually became quite uniform and regular." Their power he states truly. "The puritanical party, though disguised, had a great authority over the kingdom, and many of the leaders among the commons had secretly embraced the rigid tenets of that sect...It is remarkable, that this party made the privilege of the nation as much a part of their religion as the church-party did the prerogatives of the crown; and nothing tended farther to recommend among the people, who always take opinions in the lump, the whole system and principles of the former sect. The king soon found, by fatal experience, that this engine of religion, which with so little necessity was introduced into politics, falling under more fortunate management, was played with the most terrible success against him."

These sectaries and patriots, whether real or pretended, chiefly influenced by puritans, from the flames of religious war, raging in France and Germany, incautiously increased by Charles,*

* He encouraged the heroic Gustaphus Adolphus to carry on the memorable thirty years war, for religion and liberty, in Germany, with promise of support.

caught a similar phrenzy of zeal. They longed to copy the examples of Geneva, Switzerland, and Holland, where no king, no bishop, might be proclaimed with applause. Misunderstanding the New Testament, entirely guided by the intolerant spirit of the Old, they thirsted for the extirpation of what they stiled Antichrist, the scarlet whore, popery. " Their (the commons) zeal and jealousy for religion, and their enmity against the unfortunate catholics, ran extremely high....Papists and Arminians were declared capital enemies to the commonwealth, by the commons, anno 1629."*

To accomplish these cherished objects, the extinction of popery, monarchy, and episcopacy, the managers of the puritans proceeded with uncommon vigour and ability. Their plan was, to degrade the monarchy, both in estimation and power, by sapping its prerogatives and revenues; by involving it in difficulties, and leaving it to support itself by illegal means. This Charles experienced in the very beginning of his reign. The commons forced him, by importunities and promises, to declare war against the house of Austria, in support of his son-in-law, the prince palatine, lately created king of Bohemia, as well as in support of the protestant interest; but, as soon as the crown was completely involved in the contest, the commons, under pretence of some domestic grievances, broke their engagements, withholding the supplies. Thus was the unfor-

* Hume. Hist. of England.

fortunate Charles reduced to this distressing dilemma. The crown and nation of England must be disgraced, by abandoning allies, solicited to the war by itself, at the instigation of parliament; or illegal resources must be resorted to, in support of their honour and interest, which would encrease the number and force of his malignant, domestic enemies. "The house of commons took into consideration the business of supply. They knew, that all the money granted by the last parliament had been expended on naval and military armaments; and that great anticipations were likewise made on the revenues of the crown. They were not ignorant that Charles was loaded with a debt, contracted by his father, who had borrowed money both from his own subjects and from foreign princes. They had learned by experience, that the public revenues could with difficulty maintain the dignity of the crown, even under the ordinary charges of government. They were sensible, that the present war was, very lately, the result of their own importunate applications and entreaties, and that they had solemnly engaged to support their sovereign in the management of it. They were acquainted with the difficulty of military enterprizes, directed against the whole house of Austria; against the king of Spain, possessed of the greatest riches and most extensive dominions of any prince in Europe; against the emperor Ferdinand, hitherto the most fortunate monarch of his age, who had subdued and astonished Germany by the rapidity of his victories. Deep im-

pression, they saw, must be made by the English sword, and a vigorous offensive war be waged against these mighty potentates, ere they would resign a principality, which they had now fully subdued, and which they held in secure possession, by its being surrounded with all their other territories.

“ To answer, therefore, all these great and important ends; to justify their young king in the first request which he made them; to prove their sense of the many royal virtues, particularly œconomy, with which Charles was endued; the house of commons, conducted by the wisest and ablest senators that had ever flourished in England, thought proper to confer on the king a supply of two subsidies, amounting to 112,000 pounds.

“ This measure, which discovers rather a cruel mockery of Charles, than any serious design of supporting him, appears so extraordinary, when considered in all its circumstances, that it naturally summons up our attention, and raises an enquiry concerning the causes of a conduct, unprecedented in an English parliament. So numerous an assembly, composed of persons of various dispositions, was not, 'tis probable, wholly influenced by the same motives; and few declared openly their true reason. We shall, therefore, approach nearer the truth, if we mention all the views which the present conjuncture could suggest to them.”*

* Hume. Hist. Eng.

Mr. Hume goes over the reasons ingenuously enough, but passes by the principal, the republican and sectarian spirit.

Men of splendid ability were leaders of the commons engaged on the side of liberty. Allowed. Would not men of ability be able to calculate the expences of a great war, against the two most potent monarchies in Europe? Would men of integrity, friends of liberty and the people, disgrace that people, and their first magistrate, by compelling him to break the public faith, engaged in the most solemn treaties, with foreign powers? Facts best develop the deep designs of these men of abilities. "Charles now found himself obliged to depart from that delicacy, which he had formerly maintained. By himself or his ministers, he entered into a particular detail, both of the alliances which he had formed, and of the military operations which he had projected. He told the parliament, that, by a promise of subsidies, he had engaged the king of Denmark to take part in the war; that this monarch intended to enter Germany by the north, and to rouse to arms those princes, who impatiently longed for an opportunity of asserting the liberty of the empire; that Mansfeldt had undertaken to penetrate with an English army into the Palatinate, and by that quarter to excite the members of the evangelical union; that the states must be supported in the unequal warfare which they maintained with Spain; that no less a sum than £700,000 a year had been found, by computation, requisite for all these purposes; that

the maintenance of the fleet and the defence of Ireland demanded an annual expence of £400,000; that he himself had already exhausted and anticipated, in the public service, his whole revenue, and had scarcely left sufficient for the daily subsistence of himself and of his family; that, on his accession to the crown, he found a debt of above £300,000, contracted by his father, in support of the Palatine; and that, while prince of Wales, he had himself contracted debts, notwithstanding his great frugality, to the amount of £70,000, which he had expended entirely on naval and military armaments. After mentioning all these facts, the king even condescended to use entreaties. He said, that this request was the first which he had ever made them; that he was young and in the commencement of his reign; and, if he now met with kind and dutiful usage, it would endear him to the use of parliaments, and would for ever preserve an entire harmony between him and his people.

“ To these reasons the commons remained inexorable. Notwithstanding that the king's measures, on the supposition of a foreign war, which they had constantly demanded, were altogether unexceptionable, they obstinately refused any farther assistance. Some members, favourable to the court, having insisted on an addition of two fifteenths to the former supply, even this pittance was refused; though it was known, that a fleet and army were lying at Portsmouth, in great want of pay and provisions; and that Buckingham, the admiral, and the treasurer of the

navy, had advanced on their own credit near an hundred thousand pounds for the sea-service. Besides all their other motives, the house of commons had made a discovery, which, as they wanted but a pretence for their refusal, inflamed them against the court and against the duke of Buckingham.”*

The fulfilment of a promise made by James, of furnishing some ships of war to Louis of France, against the Genoese, gave the commons a fresh handle for raising popular discontent against Charles, on the score of religion. The leaders of the Hugonots, disgusted in some court intrigue, under the never-failing pretence of religion, without the smallest provocation from the catholics, rebelled against their sovereign. Popish Spain assisted the Protestant rebels, and Protestant Holland aided the Catholic sovereign. The puritan leaders knew it was considered a war of interests, not of religion, except by the meanest of the mobility. Nevertheless, they could not slip so fair an opportunity, of working on the protestant feelings of the most bigotted nation in the world, to excite disaffection towards his majesty’s person and government; nor could so apt materials be found to work withal. “When the vessels, by Charles’s orders, arrived at Diepe, there arose a strong suspicion, that they were to serve against Rochelle. The sailors were inflamed. That race of men, who are at present both careless and ignorant in all mat-

* Hume. Hist. Eng.

ters of religion, were at that time only ignorant. They drew up a remonstrance to Pennington, their commander; and signing all their names in a circle, lest he should discover the ring-leaders, they laid it under his prayer-book. Pennington declared, that he would rather be hanged in England for disobedience, than fight against his brother protestants in France. The whole squadron sailed immediately to the Downs. There they received new orders from Buckingham, lord admiral, to return to Diepe. As the duke knew, that authority alone would not suffice, he employed much art and many subtilties to engage them to obedience; and a rumour, which was spread, that peace had been concluded between the French king and the Hugonots, assisted him in his purpose. When they arrived at Diepe, they found that they had been deceived. Sir Ferdinando Gorges, who commanded one of the vessels, broke through, and returned to England. All the officers and sailors of the other ships, notwithstanding great offers made them by the French, immediately deserted. One gunner alone preferred duty towards his king to the cause of religion; and he was afterwards killed in charging a cannon before Rochelle. The care, which historians have taken to record this frivolous event, shews with what pleasure the news was received by the nation, of which the parliamentarians made good use.

“Great murmurs and discontents still prevailed in parliament. The Hugonots, though they had no ground of complaint against the French

court, were thought to be as much entitled to assistance from England, as if they had taken arms in defence of their liberties and religion against the persecuting rage of the catholics. And it plainly appears from this incident, as well as from many others, that, of all European nations, the British were, at that time, and till long after, the most under the influence of that religious spirit, which tends rather to inflame bigotry than increase peace and mutual charity.

“ On this occasion, the commons renewed their eternal complaints against the growth of popery, which was ever the chief of their grievances, and now their only one. They demanded a strict execution of the penal laws against the catholics, and remonstrated against some late pardons, granted to priests. They attacked Montague, one of the king’s chaplains, on account of a moderate book, which he had lately composed, and which, to their great disgust, saved virtuous catholics, as well as other christians, from eternal torments. Charles gave them a gracious and compliant answer to all their remonstrances. He was however, in his heart, extremely averse to these furious measures. Though a determined protestant, by principle as well as inclination, he had entertained no violent horror against popery; and a little humanity, he thought, was due by the nation to the religion of their ancestors. That degree of liberty, which is now indulged to catholics, though a party much more obnoxious than during the reign of the Stuarts, it suited neither with Charles’s sentiments, nor the humour

of the age, to allow them. An abatement of the more rigorous laws was all he intended; and his engagements with France, notwithstanding that their regular execution had never been proposed nor expected, required of him some indulgence. But so unfortunate was this prince, that no measure, embraced during his reign, was ever attended with more unhappy and more fatal consequences."*

The pretended patriots, but real republican rebels, having thus successfully played off the engine of fanatical insanity, against their liege lord, had recourse to their old and constant expedient, of forcing him on illegal methods of supplying the exigencies of the state, by withholding supplies, to carry on the Spanish war, in which they had engaged him. "The king, finding that the parliament was resolved to grant him no supply, and would furnish him with nothing but empty protestations of duty, or disagreeable complaints of grievances; took advantage of the plague, which began to appear at Oxford, and on that pretence, immediately dissolved them. By finishing the session with a dissolution, instead of a prorogation, he sufficiently expressed his displeasure at their conduct. To supply the want of parliamentary aids, Charles issued privy seals for borrowing money from his subjects. The advantage reaped by this expedient was a small compensation for the disgust which it occasioned. By means, however,

* Hume. Hist. of England.

of that supply, and by other expedients, he was, though with difficulty, enabled to equip his fleet."* When supplies were granted, they were inadequate, and so saddled with limitations and restrictions, as put the head of the executive on a level with a land steward. "The supply was only voted by the commons. The passing of that vote into a law was reserved till the end of the session. A condition was thereby made, in a very undisguised manner, with their sovereign. Under colour of redressing grievances, which, during this short reign, could not be very numerous; they were to proceed in regulating and controuling every part of government, which displeased them: and if the king either cut them short in this undertaking, or refused compliance with their demands, he must not expect any supply from the commons. Great dissatisfaction was expressed by Charles with a method of treatment, which he deemed so harsh and undutiful. But his urgent necessities obliged him to submit; and he waited with patience, observing to what side they would turn themselves."*

It lies not in my province, to detail the weakness, impolicy, or misconduct, which lay Charles more and more open to the assaults of his inveterate enemies. I shall only observe, that it was morally impossible for a monarch, thus beset, and attacked at all points, by the commons, using every engine to increase disaffection towards him, and refusing the necessary support of

* Hume. Hist. Eng.

government, for the purposes either of peace or war, not to fall into a thousand mistakes. How much more honourable would it have been, to resign, and renounce the government of such intractable and perfidious enemies, and subsist on his own means and abilities? What, but infatuation, could retain any man of honour in so harassed a situation? But the party, who persecuted and worried him with such art and persecution, until they excited rebellion in the three kingdoms, and brought him to the scaffold, is my present object. Them, and their accomplices, I mean to pursue, through all the intricacies of their perfidious policy, and all the mazes of their detestable arts, until, by ouvert acts, and their plain consequences, they shall be convicted of having, under the names of civil liberty and religion, excited all the horrors of civil and religious war throughout the two islands.

One of their most marked features was, a professed abhorrence of Roman catholics, and a declared wish for their eradication. "The never failing cry of popery here served them in stead. They again claimed the execution of the penal laws against catholics; and they presented to the king a list of persons, entrusted with offices, most of them insignificant, who were either convicted or suspected recusants. In this particular, they had, perhaps, some reason to blame the king's conduct. He had promised to the last house of commons a redress of this religious grievance: but he was apt, in imitation of his father, to imagine, that the parliament, when they failed

of supplying his necessities, had, on their part, freed him from the obligation of a strict performance. A new odium, likewise, by these representations, was attempted to be thrown upon Buckingham. His mother, who had great influence over him, was a professed catholic; his wife was not free from suspicion: and the indulgence given to catholics was of course supposed to proceed entirely from his credit and authority. So violent was the bigotry of the times, that it was thought a sufficient reason for disqualifying any one from holding an office, that his wife, or relations, or companions, were papists, though he himself were a conformist.*

The puritanic republicans, such they were, though not as yet avowed, were evidently bent on the ruin of the monarchy. "The next attack made by the commons, had it prevailed, would have proved decisive. They were preparing a remonstrance against the levying of tonnage and poundage without consent of parliament. This article, together with the new impositions laid on merchandize by James, constituted near half of the crown revenue; and by depriving the king of these resources, they would have reduced him to total subjection and dependence. While they retained such a pledge, besides the supply already promised, they were sure nothing could be refused them."*

Had that decisive blow succeeded, by withholding supplies, they would soon have forced

* Hume, Hist. Eng.

Charles to surrender the whole executive into their hands. Charles himself was aware of their intentions, but wanted firmness and ability to oppose their schemes. "To-day the commons pretended to wrest his minister from him; to-morrow, they would attack some branch of his prerogative. By their remonstrances, and promises, and protestations, they had engaged the crown in a war. So soon as they saw a retreat impossible, without waiting for new incidents, without covering themselves with new pretences, they immediately deserted him, and refused him all reasonable supply. It was evident, that they desired nothing so much as to see him plunged in inextricable difficulties, of which they intended to take advantage. To such deep perfidy, to such unbounded usurpations, it was necessary to oppose a proper firmness and resolution. All encroachments on supreme power could only be resisted successfully on the first attempt. The sovereign authority was, with some difficulty, reduced from its antient and legal height; but when once pushed downwards, it soon became contemptible, and would easily, by the continuance of the same effort, now encouraged by success, be carried to the lowest extremity."*

By this management, they put him on the resources of a highwayman. In this desperate condition, at war with Spain, and his own subjects at home, without revenue, and, consequently, without sufficient forces by sea or land, he wan-

* Hume. Hist. of England.

tonly declares war against France too. This put him still more in the power of those, who, though not all republicans, were secretly under their influence, during the passing of the Bill of Rights. Their venomous rancour against the unfortunate catholics, is displayed by their petitioning, that the penal laws shall hereafter be more exact and rigid than heretofore. When people are in this humour of reforming down monarchy to a nullity, it is easy to see, that every concession, on the part of the crown, would lead to fresh demands from the commons, according to the adage, 'give but an inch they will take an ell.' Instead of remaining satisfied with the passing of the Bill of Rights, which fully secured the rights and privileges of the people, they now meditated a decisive blow, to deprive the crown of the chief part of its scanty hereditary revenue, Tonnage and Poundage. The house of lords seems to have perceived the drift of these unremitting encroachments on the executive, and rejected the bill, passed by the commons, for depriving his majesty of his little hereditary revenue. " But what was most remarkable in the proceedings of that house of commons, and what proved beyond controversy, that they had seriously formed a plan of reducing their prince to dependence, was, that, instead of granting this supply during the king's life-time, as it had been enjoyed by all his immediate predecessors, they voted it only for a year; and, after that should be elapsed, reserved to themselves the power of renewing or refusing the same concession. But

the house of peers, who saw, that this duty was now become more necessary than ever to supply the growing necessities of the crown, and who did not approve of this encroaching spirit in the commons, rejected the bill, and the dissolution of that parliament followed soon after: but in the succeeding parliament, the commons made there some steps towards declaring it illegal to levy Tonnage and Poundage without consent of parliament; and they openly shewed their intention of employing this engine, in order to extort from the crown concessions of the most important nature."* That they meant to treat him as a master would his menial servant or labourer, by refusing his wages if he did not comply with every command or even wish, " It was probable, that the commons might renew their former project of making this revenue only temporary, and thereby reducing their prince to perpetual dependence; they certainly would cut off the new impositions, which Mary and Elizabeth, but especially James, had levied, and which formed no despicable part of the public revenue; and they openly declared, that they had, at present, many important pretensions, chiefly with regard to religion; and if compliance was refused, no supply must be expected from the commons."* What pretensions they had with regard to religion, they partly avowed, in their many petitions to have the penal laws against catholics enforced with rigorous punctuality. In their intentions

towards the established hierarchy, they were more reserved hitherto; but in the publications of their partizans, some of which have survived the puritanic court of godly and able ministers, upright presbytery, and the popish ceremonies and ritual of the episcopalians, plainly indicate what spirit they were of. Charles himself suspected their design, though not, perhaps, in the totality of its extent. "The plain consequence, he saw, of all these rigours, and refinements, and inferences, was, that he, without any public necessity, and without any fault of his own, must, of a sudden, even from his accession, become a magistrate of a very different nature from any of his predecessors, and must fall into a total dependance on subjects, over whom former kings, especially those immediately preceding, had exercised an authority almost unlimited."* The powerful engine of religion was incessantly hurled at church and state. "The Arminians, finding more encouragement from the superstitious spirit of the church than from the fanaticism of the puritans, gradually incorporated themselves with the former; and some of that sect, by the indulgence of James and Charles, had attained the highest offices and preferments in the hierarchy. But their success with the public had not been altogether answerable to that which they met with in the church and the court. Throughout the nation, they still lay under the reproach of innovation and heresy. The commons now levelled against

* Hume. Hist. Eng.

them their formidable censures, and made them the objects of daily invective and declamation. Their protectors were stigmatized; their tenets canvassed; their views represented as dangerous and pernicious. To impartial spectators surely, if any such had been at that time in England, it must have given great entertainment, to see a popular assembly, enflamed with faction and enthusiasm, pretend to discuss questions, to which the greatest philosophers, in the tranquillity of retreat, had never hitherto been able to find any satisfactory solution."*

The reader may now be satisfied with a tolerable just delineation of the attitudes and weapons of the parties at issue for the sovereignty in church and state. Democracy, with the cant of patriotism and religious zeal, declaiming on grievances and abuses in government and religion, harassed the executive, and drove it to distraction and despotic acts, by impelling it on great and expensive wars; and, when entangled therein, deserting it, by withholding supplies; thus bringing contempt on it, both at home and abroad. Now, as currents, in the moral as well as in the physical world, produce counter currents, so the loyalists gave into the contrary extreme. They dwelt on the hereditary, indefeasible, divine right of kings; and that, in great exigencies, he has a right to take a portion of every man's property, for the honour and interest of the nation; in case the holders of the

* Hume. Hist. Eng.

national purse, from any factious principle, be willing to sacrifice both.

Charles struggled long, though often rashly and imprudently, always unsuccessfully, to preserve the tottering throne. His enemies had him gaffed, and they had prudence enough to wait for the moment favorable to hawl him in. It belongs only to the history of England, to enter further into the detail of a contest, daily becoming more fierce and obstinate. Prerogative making bold and not unprecedented, but ineffectual struggles, for its own preservation. Privilege marching, with a confident, firm and well guided step, to its object; untill the unfortunate monarch, by some unaccountable folly, turned the scale against himself, and kindled the flames of war. His queen too; an accomplished, beautiful, prudent and high-spirited princess, was a disadvantage to the king; because she was a daughter of France; and a catholic. " Charles reserved all his passion for the queen; to whom he attached himself with unshaken fidelity and confidence. By her sense and spirit, as well as by her beauty, she justified the fondness of her husband; though it is allowed, that, being somewhat of a passionate temper, she precipitated him into hasty and imprudent counsels. Her religion likewise, to which she was much addicted, must be regarded as a great misfortune; since it augmented the jealousy, which prevailed against the court, and engaged her to procure for the catholics some indulgences, which were generally distasteful to the na-

tion.”* And so they will continue, untill they are divested somewhat of their insolent self-sufficiency, and restored to sobriety of thought. One imprudence of the monarch, before I come to the fatal one, deserves mention, if it were only for its jocular singularity. “The thorough-paced puritans were distinguished by the sourness and austerity of their manners, and by their aversion to all pleasure and society. To inspire them with better humour, was certainly, both for their own sake and that of the public, a very laudable intention in the court; but whether pillories, fines, and prisons, were proper expedients for that purpose, may admit of some question.

“Another expedient which the king tried, in order to infuse chearfulness into the national devotion, was not much more successful. He renewed his father’s edict for allowing sports and recreations on Sunday to such as attended public worship; and he ordered his proclamation for that purpose to be publicly read by the clergy after divine service. Those, who were puritanically affected, refused obedience, and were punished by suspension or deprivation. The differences between the sects were before sufficiently great; nor was it necessary to widen them farther by these inventions.

“Some encouragement and protection, which the king and bishops gave to wakes, church-ales, bride-ales, and other chearful festivals of the common people, were the object of like scandal

* Hume. Hist. Eng.

to the puritans."* Whoever does not see in this, the prototype of a modern sect, must want penetration. On the strictest comparison, they will be found to resemble, as one egg to another, almost one sect under different names.

It is foreign to the object of this history, to detail the proceedings of Charles, from the time he resolved to govern without parliaments, untill his own imprudence involved him in the absolute necessity of calling one, which brought his head to the block, and laid church and state prostrate. Satisfied with having traced the origin and progress of the combined fanatic and democratic factions, which labored with such perseverance and success for a revolution; it is time to hasten to the moment, when Charles, by indiscreet zeal for the hierarchy, and for uniformity of discipline and worship in England and Scotland, kindled a furious rebellion in the latter kingdom, which was not extinguished untill it involved the other two in similar calamities.

Both James and Charles labored, and with some success too, to produce some degree of uniformity between the church of England and the kirk of Scotland. It was much gained for this end, that the latter admitted the establishment of episcopacy, which the kings of England have always considered as an order of men, not only useful, but necessary for the preservation of the monarchy. The value at which their services to the crown have been rated, may be just enough, as far as it concerns England. As

* Hume. Hist. Eng.

spiritual magistrates there, they are its barriers for legal and illegal acts. They command the body of the clergy, and these preach obedience and submission to the people. In Scotland, their establishment had a contrary effect, injurious to the crown. The king, being both conscientiously and from policy attached to the hierarchy, had them of his privy council in Scotland, and conferred on them the high offices of state, such as chancellor, treasurer, &c. This preference disgusted the haughty noblesse of that country, who looked down on such new men as far their inferiors in rank and descent, and considered the high offices of state as privileges and appurtenances of their own order. The establishment was contrary to the genius of the presbyterian kirk, which acknowledges but one order of priesthood, without other difference than ability and zeal may cause, and viewed the prelacy as an odious, tyrannical imposition. It is astonishing, that Charles, with a knowledge of these circumstances, and managing the reins of government, amidst such difficulties and perplexities in England, over a discontented people, without daring to call a parliament, whose refractory spirit he always found more eager to encroach on his prerogative, than to supply the necessary aids to the executive government, should rashly, and fatally, without compulsion of necessity, or prospect of utility, tempt the irascible temper of his North Britain subjects, with an experiment as tragical as childish. "The liturgy, which the king, from his own authority, imposed on Scotland,

was copied from that of England: but lest a servile imitation might shock the pride of his antient kingdom, a few alterations, in order to save appearances, were made in it; and in that shape it was transmitted to the bishops at Edinburgh. But the Scots had universally entertained a notion, that, though riches and worldly glory had been shared out to them with a sparing hand, they could boast of spiritual treasures more abundant and more genuine, than were enjoyed by any nation under heaven. Even their southern neighbours, they thought, though separated from Rome, still retained a great tincture of the primitive pollution; and their liturgy was represented as a species of mass, though with some less shew and embroidery. Great prejudices, therefore, were entertained against it, even considered in itself; much more, when regarded as a preparative, which was soon to introduce into Scotland all the abominations of popery. And as the very few alterations, which distinguished the new liturgy from the English, seemed to approach nearer to the doctrine of the real presence; this circumstance was deemed an undoubted confirmation of every suspicion, with which the people were possessed.

“Easter-day was, by proclamation, appointed for the first reading of the service in Edinburgh: But in order to judge more surely of men’s dispositions, the council delayed the matter till the 23d of July; and they even gave notice, the Sunday before, of their intention to commence the use of the new liturgy. As no considerable symp-

toms of discontent appeared, they thought that they might safely proceed in their purpose; and accordingly, in the cathedral church of St. Giles, the dean of Edinburgh, arrayed in his surplice, began the service, the bishop himself and many of the privy council being present. But no sooner had the dean opened the book, than a multitude of the meanest sort, most of them women, clapping their hands, cursing, and crying out, **A POPE! A POPE! ANTICHRIST! STONE HIM!** raised such a tumult, that it was impossible to proceed with the service. The bishop mounting the pulpit, in order to appease the populace, had a stool thrown at him: the council was insulted: and it was with difficulty, that the magistrates were able, partly by authority, partly by force, to expel the rabble, and to shut the doors against them. The tumult, however, still continued without: stones were thrown at the doors and windows: and when the service was ended, the bishop, going home, was attacked, and narrowly escaped from the hands of the enraged multitude. In the afternoon, the privy seal, because he carried the bishop in his coach, was so pelted with stones, and hooted at with execrations, and pressed upon by the eager populace, that, if his servants, with drawn swords, had not kept them off, the bishop's life had been exposed to the utmost danger.

“ Though it was violently suspected, that the low rabble, who alone appeared, had been instigated by some of higher condition, yet no proof of it could be produced, and every one spake

with disapprobation of the licentiousness of the giddy multitude. It was not thought safe, however, to hazard a new insult by a new attempt to read the liturgy; and the populace seemed, for the time, to be appeased and satisfied. But it being known, that the king still persevered in his intentions of imposing that mode of worship, men fortified themselves still farther in their prejudices against it; and great multitudes resorted to Edinburgh, in order to oppose the introduction of so hated a novelty. It was not long before they broke out into the most violent disorder. The bishop of Galloway was attacked in the streets, and chased into the chamber, where the privy council was sitting. The council itself was besieged and violently attacked: the town-council met with the same fate: and nothing could have saved the lives of all of them, but their application to some popular lords, who protected them, and dispersed the multitude. In this sedition, the actors were of some better condition than in the former; though nobody of rank seemed, as yet, to countenance them.

“ All men, however, began to unite and to encourage each other, in opposition to the religious innovations introduced into the kingdom. Petitions to the council were signed and presented by persons of the highest quality: the women took part, and, as is usual, with violence. The clergy, every where, loudly declaimed against popery and the liturgy, which they represented as the same: the pulpits resounded with vehement invectives against antichrist: and the popu-

lace, who first opposed the service, was often compared to Balaam's ass, an animal, in itself stupid and senseless, but whose mouth had been opened by the Lord, to the admiration of the whole world. In short, fanaticism mingled with faction, private interest with the spirit of liberty, symptoms appeared, on all hands, of the most dangerous insurrection and disorder.

“ To so violent a combination of a whole kingdom, Charles had nothing to oppose but a proclamation; in which he pardoned all past offences, and exhorted the people to be more obedient for the future, and to submit peaceably to the use of the liturgy. This proclamation was instantly encountered with a public protestation, presented by the earl of Hume and lord Lindesey: and this was the first time, that men of quality had appeared in any violent act of opposition. But this proved a crisis. The insurrection, which had been advanced by a gradual and slow progress, now blazed out at once. No disorder, however, attended it. On the contrary, a new order immediately took place. Four TABLES, as they were called, were formed in Edinburgh. One consisted of nobility, another of gentry, a third of ministers, a fourth of burghesses. The table of gentry was divided into many subordinate tables, according to their different counties. In the hands of the four tables, the whole authority of the kingdom was placed. Orders were issued by them, and every where obeyed, with the utmost regularity. And among

the first acts of their government was the production of the COVENANT.

“ The treacherous, the cruel, the unrelenting Philip, accompanied with all the terrors of a Spanish inquisition, was scarcely, during the preceding century, opposed in the Low Countries with more determined fury, than was now, by the Scots, the mild, the humane Charles, attended with his inoffensive liturgy.”*

Not so inoffensive neither, as may seem to a latitudinarian, or deist, or to a mercenary historian, compromising truth to flatter the prejudices of the more opulent nation. If Hume held the different modes of faith in equal contempt, the intrusion of the liturgy of one sect upon another could not but appear inoffensive to him. But if, like the Scotch, he were a zealous religionist of any description, he would view and feel it as an unwarrantable invasion of one of the first and most essential rights and duties of man; an illegal and impious assault on the sacred asylum of conscience, that internal monitor, to whose arbitration the God of nature has committed the choice of the means and modes, through which the grateful homage and adoration of the creature shall be addressed to the throne of the infinite, eternal, omnipotent, ever adorable Creator. The Scotch were therefore right, in considering the faith and worship altogether independent of the civil power; and, that the arbitrary attempts of Charles, to dictate to the consciences of his

* Hume. Hist. Eng.

subjects, was an usurpation of the spiritual kingdom of Christ; as to heaven alone appertains the divine prerogative of dictating to the heads and hearts of all his rational creatures. They knew, that Christianity was thus established, propagated, and preserved, solely by divine authority, without the meddling or dictation of the civil power, and in defiance to their opposition. They saw, that independence of the civil power is an essential attribute of revelation, given to correct the aberrations of the human understanding, (confessed by Cicero, in his masterly epitome of the Greek philosophy, where he confesses, after Plato, that the learned as well as ignorant shall remain in doubt and uncertainty, on subjects of the first importance, unless some God reveal,) should not be left subject to the arbitrary, capricious, weak, fallible decisions of human reason, liable to be misled by passions, prejudices, interests, influence, ambition and various other causes. The controuler and regulator of the passions was not to be impelled by their blind, headlong rage; a truth instanced in Henry VIII. who, by severing his kingdom from the unity of the church, in compliance with his passions, opened the door for the ensuing innovations, notwithstanding his exertions of arbitrary power to protect the antient faith of his schismatical kingdom, of which he lived and died a rigid professor. Least of all was that divine religion, which came to establish charity and peace among men; which taught obedience to subjects, and moderation to princes; whose office it was to bend the stubborn

neck of proud power under the yoke of the gospel, commanding kings and all potentates, to govern their subjects, not alone agreeably to the rules of morality and justice, but as brethren in Christ, on the sublime feelings of christian charity, with the bowels of a father, under pain of experiencing the wrath of the King of kings, and Lord of lords, before whom all human greatness is nothing, to the discretion of that time-serving, fickle, perverse, unfeeling thing, called state policy. Was that heavenly doctrine, revealed for the reform and salvation of man; his consolation here, and the ground of his hopes hereafter; decreed unalterable, perpetual, for these high purposes, to be moulded and fashioned by the whim or malignity of that wisdom of this world, at enmity with God, of which the worst and most depraved species too often domineers in the cabinets of princes, using subjects for any object of revenge, avarice, lust or ambition, as so many counters; prodigal of their lives, as if they were but flies; exhausting, impoverishing, racking them with endless taxations, extortions and oppressions; as a poor animal is tortured to convulsions and death, in the exhausted receiver of an air pump, by an unfeeling, experimental philosopher.

The Scotch covenanters so far reasoned much clearer and more powerfully than David Hume; but, acute as they were, they seem not to have been aware of the necessary consequences flowing from their principles. Their resistance to the encroachments of the civil magistrate on the

rights of conscience; on the substance, or form, of their faith and worship, was wielding a mortal blow on the foundation of the Reformation; perfectly consistent with catholic principles, but utterly irreconcilable with the principles of the Reformation. The schism and innovations, that dismembered, and shall ultimately reform the western church, were not the fruit of any immediate commission from God, under the broad seal of heaven, attested by sanctity of manners, by signs, wonders, and the gift of prophecy. They were accomplished by mere human means, such as the civil power employs; by passions, interest, policy and power. The overgrown wealth of the clergy, both secular and regular, and government, independent of papal jurisdiction, tempted the pride and ambition of princes and their nobles. The love of singularity, and literary fame, or disappointed hopes, attracted several of the learned; but many more pampered young ecclesiastics, weary of the lonesome bed of celibacy, and thirsting for the joys of Hymen, crowded to the standard of evangelical liberty; while all were enticed by the proud presumption of judging a supernatural religion by their own shallow conceits; and the high privilege of the saints, in shaking off the popish yoke of confessions, penances, fasting and chastity, in order to please dear flesh for the salvation of the soul.

The covenanters were not more keen to resent, than prompt to avenge this insult to their rights of conscience. They immediately organized themselves into an independent state. A national

assembly was formed, whose first act was to depose the bishops. "The assembly met at Glasgow: and, besides a great concourse of the people, all the nobility and gentry of any family or interest were present either as members, assessors, or spectators; and it was apparent, that the resolutions taken by the covenanters, could here meet with no manner of opposition. A firm determination had been entered into of utterly abolishing episcopacy; and as a preparative to it, there was laid before the presbytery of Edinburgh, and solemnly read in all the churches of the kingdom, an accusation against the bishops, as guilty, all of them, of heresy, simony, bribery, perjury, cheating, incest, adultery, fornication, common swearing, drunkenness, gaming, breach of the sabbath, and every other crime which had occurred to the accusers."* Their next step was to prepare for war. "But the chief resource of the Scottish malcontents was in themselves, and in their own vigour and ability. No regular established commonwealth could take juster measures, or execute them with greater promptitude, than did this tumultuous combination, inflamed with bigotry for religious trifles, and faction without a reasonable object. The whole kingdom was, in a manner, engaged; and the men of greatest ability soon acquired the ascendant, which their family interest enabled them to maintain. The earl of Argyle, though he long seemed to temporize, had, at last, embraced the cove-

* Hume. Hist. Eng.

at the expence of his friends and the catholics, mustered an army, and marched against the rebels, halting at Berwick. The covenanters, with an army equally numerous, more animated in the cause, and commanded by officers of greater reputation, were soon near that bordering town, and drove in his advanced posts. They, however, soon proposed to treat of peace, probably at the instigation of the long parliament, in whose pay they were, and who thought matters not ripe enough as yet for the overthrow of the church and monarchy; and also, because they did not wish their Scottish allies to over-preponderate, by effecting a conquest, whose fruits they meant to reserve for themselves.

The king, embarrassed with difficulties on all sides; his kingdom of Scotland in open rebellion against him; England highly discontented, and ripe for revolt; and the parliament, by the religious and political phrenzy they had created, waging an undisguised war against him, by crippling all the prerogatives of royalty, and withholding the means necessary for the maintenance of the executive government, found himself reduced to the disgraceful necessity of treating with the rebels, and that on terms highly dishonorable to the throne.

After the pacification, the king, for want of money, disbanded his army; which, consisting of mercenaries, could not be easily rallied again, under the standard of a monarch, destitute of revenue, credit and authority, in his rebellious kingdom. "The more prudent covenanters had

concluded, that their pretensions being so contrary to the interest, and still more to the inclinations of the king, it was likely, that they should again be obliged to support their cause by arms; and they were therefore careful, in dismissing the troops, to preserve nothing but the appearance of a pacific disposition. The officers had orders to be ready on the first summons: the soldiers were warned not to think the nation secure from an English invasion: and the religious zeal, which animated all ranks of men, made them immediately fly to their standards, as soon as the trumpet was sounded by their spiritual and temporal leaders. The credit, which in their last expedition, they had acquired, by obliging their sovereign to depart from all his pretensions, gave courage to every one, in undertaking this new enterprise.”*

The king, on receiving from lord Traquaire an intercepted treasonable letter, dispatched by the covenanters to the king of France, took occasion thence to break with them. He committed lord Loudon, agent to the covenanters in London, and one of those who signed the letter, to the tower. With much difficulty he drew together an army, and applied to the commons for supplies, so urgently demanded by the necessities of the kingdom, stating, that the force he raised, by mortgaging the crown lands for £300,000, for preserving the union of the two kingdoms, could not be kept together, without an immediate

* Hume. Hist. of England.

supply. In vain. His rebellious parliament considered the Scotch rebels as their best allies; and it is not improbable, that the intercepted letter was a concerted trick, to provoke the king to a fresh rupture, and thus involve him in difficulties, while they withheld the means of extricating himself therefrom.

Instead of paying any attention to such reasonable demands from the executive government, they fell to their usual detail of grievances, and their usual furious cant against papists and malignants. The same engines were still employed to fanaticize the public, and render monarchy and prelacy odious. Charles, in disgust, dissolves the parliament, and has again recourse to extra-parliamentary means of raising money. A contribution from the clergy; a loan of £300,000 from his ministers and courtiers, with some other exactions, which, though not unprecedented, considerably encreased the public discontent, in the present enraged temper of the people. With these resources he took the field; but such is the effect of unanimity, that the Scotch, though superior in number, were before him. A large detachment of the king's forces, being stationed under Conway, at Newburn-on-Tyne, were routed by the covenanters; who thereupon communicating their own panic to the rest of the army, they altogether fled to Durham, and afterwards to Yorkshire. If they were destitute of bravery, they did not want discriminating marks of cowardice, mutiny and cruelty. "Several mutinies had arisen among the troops, when

marching to join the army, and some officers had been murdered, merely on suspicion of their being papists."

Martial law having been abolished, by the petition of right; and payment of the soldiers, by withholding supplies; a multitude of armed men without pay or discipline, is but a mutinous, ungovernable multitude, as Hume justly remarks; an army new-levied, undisciplined, frightened, seditious, ill-paid, and governed by no proper authority, was very unfit for withstanding a victorious and high-spirited enemy; and holding in subjection a discontented and zealous nation. The treasury too was exhausted, and every expedient for supply had been tried to the uttermost. In this distressed situation, Charles consented to an accommodation, and opened a treaty at Rippon. Strafford, on whom the command of the army devolved, by Northumberland's sickness, declared loudly against such ignoble compromise with rebels. His opinion was, that the king should bring the affair to a quick decision; and, if he were ever so unsuccessful, nothing worse could befall him, than what, from his inactivity, he would certainly be exposed to. To shew how easy it would be to execute this project, he ordered an attack to be made on some quarters of the Scots, and he gained an advantage over them. No cessation of arms had as yet been agreed to, during the treaty at Rippon, yet great clamour prevailed on account of this act of hostility. But when it was known, that the officer who conducted that attack, was a papist,

a violent outcry was raised against the king, for employing that hated sect in the murder of his protestant subjects. What a daring stretch of arbitrary power, to employ popish loyalty to chastise protestant rebellion!

Now, at length, the inability of the king to resist the Scotch insurgents, or of keeping an army together without supplies, determined him to summon a parliament, anno 1640, afterwards known by the name of The Long Parliament. One of their first acts was, to decree that they could neither be prorogued nor dissolved without their own consent. Their next care was, a redress of grievances; as a principal branch of which, they prosecuted the king's ministers and friends with the utmost rigor. Strafford, Laud, Windebank, Finch, lord-lieutenants of counties, farmers of the customs, bishops, judges, &c. were attacked with great fury; but the gentlemen of the revenue compounded for a pardon, paying £150,000. "The whole sovereign power, being thus in a manner transferred to the commons, and the government, without any seeming violence or disorder, being changed, in a moment, from a monarchy almost absolute, to a pure democracy; the popular leaders seemed willing, for some time, to suspend their active vigour, and to consolidate their authority, ere they proceeded to any violent exercise of it."*

The parliament having assumed the government of the kingdom, chiefly by means of the revolted Scots, were determined to keep so

* Hume. Hist. Eng.

useful an auxiliary in their pay, " No sooner were the Scots masters of the northern counties, than they laid aside their first professions, which they had not indeed means to support, of paying for every thing; and in order to prevent the destructive expedient of plunder and free quarters, the country consented to give them a regular contribution of 850 pounds a day, in full of their subsistence. The parliament, that they might relieve the northern counties from so grievous a burthen, agreed to remit pay to the Scottish, as well as to the English army; and because subsidies would be levied too slowly for so urgent an occasion, money was borrowed from the citizens upon the security of particular members. Two subsidies, a very small sum, were at first voted; and as the intention of this supply was to indemnify the members, who, by their private, had supported public credit, this pretence was immediately laid hold of, and the money was ordered to be paid, not into the treasury, but to commissioners appointed by parliament: a practice, which, as it diminished the authority of the crown, was very willingly embraced, and was afterwards continued by the commons, with regard to every branch of revenue, which they granted the king. The invasion of the Scots had evidently been the cause of assembling the parliament: the presence of their army reduced the king to that total subjection, in which he was now held: the commons for this reason, very openly professed their intention of retaining these invaders, till all their enemies should be sup-

pressed, and all their purposes effected. 'We cannot yet spare the Scots,' said Strode plainly in the house; 'the sons of Zeruiah are still too strong for us:' an illusion to a passage of scripture, according to the mode of that age. Eighty thousand pounds a month were requisite for the subsistence of the two armies; a sum much greater than the kingdom had ever been accustomed, in any former period, to pay to the public. And though several subsidies, together with a poll-tax, were from time to time voted to answer the charge; the commons took care still to be in debt, in order to render the continuance of the session the more necessary.

The Scots being such useful allies to the malcontent party in England, no wonder they were courted with the most unlimited complaisance and the most important services. The king, having, in his first speech, called them rebels, observed, that he had given great offence to the parliament; and he was immediately obliged to soften, and even retract that expression. The Scottish commissioners, of whom the most considerable were the earl of Rothes and lord Loudon, found every advantage in conducting their treaty; and yet made no haste in bringing it to an issue. They were lodged in the city, and kept an intimate correspondence, as well with the magistrates, who were extremely disaffected, as with the popular leaders in both houses. St. Antholine's church was assigned them for their devotions; and their chaplains, here, began openly to practise the presbyterian form of

worship, which, except in foreign languages, had never hitherto been allowed any indulgence or toleration. So violent was the general propensity towards this new religion, that multitudes of all ranks crowded into the church. Those, who were excluded, clung to the doors or windows, in hopes of catching, at least, some distant murmur or broken phrases of the holy rhetoric. All the eloquence of parliament, now well refined from pedantry, animated with the spirit of liberty, and employed in the most important interests, was not attended to with such insatiable avidity, as were these lectures, delivered with ridiculous cant, and a provincial accent, full of barbarism and of ignorance.

“ The most effectual expedient for paying court to the zealous Scots was to promote the presbyterian discipline and worship throughout England; and to this innovation, the popular leaders among the commons, as well as their most devoted partizans, were, of themselves, sufficiently inclined. The puritanical party, whose progress, though secret, had hitherto been gradual in the kingdom, taking advantage of the present disorders, began openly to profess their tenets, and to make furious attacks on the established religion. The prevalence of that sect in the parliament discovered itself, from the beginning, by insensible, but decisive symptoms. Marshall and Burgess, two puritanical clergymen, were chosen to preach before them, and entertained them with discourses seven hours in length. It being the custom of the house always to take the sacrament

before they enter upon business, they ordered, as a necessary preliminary, that the communion table should be removed from the east end of St. Margaret's into the middle of the area. The name of the spiritual lords was commonly left out in acts of parliament; and the laws ran in name of the king, lords, and commons. The clerk of the upper house, in reading bills, turned his back on the bench of bishops; nor was his insolence ever taken notice of. On a day appointed for a solemn fast and humiliation, all the orders of temporal peers, contrary to former practice, in going to church, took place of the spiritual; and lord Spencer remarked, that the humiliation, that day, seemed confined alone to the prelates.

“ Every meeting of the commons produced some vehement harangue against the usurpations of the bishops, against the high-commission, against the late convocation, against the new canons. So disgusted were all the lovers of civil liberty at the doctrines promoted by the clergy, that these invectives were received without controul; and no distinction, at first, appeared between such as desired only to repress the exorbitancies of the hierarchy, and such as pretended totally to annihilate episcopal jurisdiction. Encouraged by these favourable appearances, petitions against the church were framed in different parts of the kingdom. The epithet of the ignorant and vicious priesthood was commonly applied to all churchmen, addicted to the established discipline and worship; though the episcopal clergy in England,

during that age, seem to have been, as they are at present, sufficiently learned and exemplary. An address against episcopacy was presented by twelve clergymen to the committee of religion, and pretended to be signed by many hundred of the puritanical persuasion. But what made most noise was the city petition for a total alteration of church government; a petition, to which 15,000 subscriptions were annexed, and which was presented by alderman Pennington, the city member.”*

The fury of the puritanical party, now domineering, against catholics, was daily manifested, in a manner the most alarming to that persecuted body. “ Among other acts of regal, executive power, which the commons were every day assuming, they issued orders for demolishing all images, altars, crucifixes. The zealous Sir Robert Harley, to whom the execution of these orders was committed, removed all crosses even out of streets and markets; and from his abhorrence of that superstitious figure, would not any where allow two pieces of wood or stone to lie over each other at right angles.

“ The laws, as they stood at present, protected the church; but they exposed the catholics to the utmost rage of the puritans; and these unhappy religionists, so obnoxious to the prevailing sect, could not hope to remain long unmolested. The voluntary contribution, which they had made, in order to assist the king in his war

* Humè. Hist. Eng.

against the Scotch covenanters, was enquired into, and represented as the greatest enormity. By an address from the commons, all officers of that religion were removed from the army, and application was made to the king for seizing two thirds of recusants' lands; a proportion to which, by law, he was intitled, but which he had always allowed them to possess upon very easy compositions. The execution of the severe and bloody laws against priests was insisted on: and one Goodman, a jesuit, who was found in prison, was condemned to a capital punishment. Charles, however, agreeably to his usual principles, scrupled to sign the warrant for his execution; and the commons expressed great resentment on that occasion. There remains a very singular petition of Goodman, begging to be hanged, rather than prove a source of contention between the king and his people. He escaped with his life: but it seems more probable, that he was overlooked, amidst affairs of greater consequence, than that such unrelenting hatred would be softened by any consideration of his courage and generosity.

“ Hayward, a justice of peace, having been wounded, when employed in the exercise of his office, by one James, a catholic madman, this enormity was ascribed to the popery, not to the phrenzy of the assassin; and great alarms seized the nation and parliament. An universal conspiracy of the papists was supposed to have taken place; and every man, for some days, imagined that he had a sword at his throat. Though some persons of family and distinction were still at-

tached to the catholic superstition; it is certain that the numbers of that sect did not compose the fortieth part of the nation: and the frequent panics, to which men, during this period, were so subject, on account of the catholics, were less the effects of fear, than of extreme rage and aversion entertained against them.

“ The queen-mother of France, having been forced into banishment by some court-intrigues, had retired into England; and expected shelter, amidst her present distresses, in the dominions of her daughter and son-in-law. But though she behaved in the most inoffensive manner, she was insulted by the populace on account of her religion; and was even threatened with worse treatment. The earl of Holland, lieutenant of Middlesex, had ordered an hundred musqueteers to guard her; but finding that they had imbibed the same prejudices with the rest of their countrymen, and were very unwillingly employed in such a service, he laid the case before the house of peers: for the king’s authority was now entirely annihilated. He represented the indignity of the action, that so great a princess, mother to the king of France, and to the queens of Spain and England, should be affronted by the base multitude. He observed the indelible reproach, which would fall upon the nation, if that unfortunate queen should suffer any violence from the misguided zeal of the people. He urged the sacred rights of hospitality, due to every one, much more to a person in distress, of so high a rank, with whom the nation was so nearly con-

nected. The peers thought proper to communicate the matter to the commons, whose authority over the people was absolute. The commons agreed to the necessity of protecting the queen-mother; but at the same time prayed, that she might be desired to depart the kingdom; "for the quieting those jealousies in the hearts of his majesty's well affected subjects, occasioned by some ill instruments about that queen's person, by the flowing of priests and papists to her house, and by the use and practice of the idolatry of the mass, and exercise of other superstitious services of the Romish church, to the great scandal of true religion."*

In their attacks on the monarchy, the puritans proceeded with great ability and perseverance. First, by depriving the king of all revenue, except the precarious supply, granted by the enemies of royalty, for sacrifices of the royal prerogative, and the erection of democracy on their ruins. Secondly, by driving him, through necessity, on unpopular and unconstitutional measures, in support of the crown. Thirdly, by encouraging and giving popularity to the canting, hypocritical, furious zealots, professing puritanism, or reformation reformed, they drove Charles and his friends on the opposite extreme of over-strained high-church principles. Fourthly, the rage against popery, so long encouraged by the civil and ecclesiastical authorities in England, was now wielded against themselves with tremen-

* Hume, Hist. Eng.

dous success. Fifthly, they deprived the monarch of council and ministers, by making the former responsible for their opinions, delivered at the council-board, and by impeaching the latter. They began with the earl of Strafford, as the ablest and most obnoxious of the ministry. During his prosecution, they made great use of a deputation, sent from the Irish parliament, to impeach him of many grievous and tyrannical oppressions, on the persons, consciences, and goods of the people. Through this deputation, they labored to infuse some of their own spirit into the Irish parliament.

The session of 1641 proves the success of their intrigues. " Charles, unable to resist, had been obliged to yield to the Irish, as to the Scotch and English parliaments; and found too, that their encroachments still rose in proportion to his concessions. Those subsidies, which themselves had voted, they reduced, by a subsequent vote, to a fourth part: the court of high commission was determined to be a grievance: martial law abolished: the jurisdiction of the council annihilated: proclamations and acts of state declared of no authority: every order or institution, which depended on monarchy, was invaded; and the prince was despoiled of all his prerogative, without the least pretext of any violence or illegality in his administration."*

" To this must be added that the committee of parliament from Dublin, which had this

* Hume. Hist. Eng.

summer attended with their complaints against Lord Strafford, most of them papists who had a great share in the rebellion which ensued, had seen a vast deal of the spirit which was then gone forth against the government. They had been engaged, in concert with the leading men of the house of commons, in the prosecution of that minister; and though enemies as to religion, might be let into the secret of their operations against the state; at least, Lord Clarendon seems to have thought so; and the measures afterwards in Ireland till the rebellion, were so exact a transcript of the methods which the others had pursued in England, that if they were not suggested, they were at least encouraged here. A spirit of turbulency and sedition appears to have been the distemper of those times; as it prevailed in France and other places as well as in the dominions of the English monarch. But it seems clear to me, I confess, that if the Scotch army had been quelled on its first invasion, as it easily might, and as it certainly should have been, and if the officers and commissioners belonging to it had not been suffered to come to London or to remain in England, the troubles which ensued here had never happened, or at least would not have been carried to the height they were. Nor does it seem less clear, that if the committee from the Irish parliament had not been countenanced, nor permitted to remain here, and to apply as they did to this house of commons, that the rebellion in Ireland would not have been undertaken at that time, or would

easily have been defeated....When discerning some distempers which arose in England upon the Scotch invasion, and the countenance which was given to those people here by many leading men, the same sort of jealousies and discontents were transplanted into Ireland, and entertained and cherished at Dublin. Did the English parliament accuse several counsellors and ministers of state upon vague and general imputations, in order to remove out of their way the persons trusted by the crown, and whose wisdom might have prevented the ensuing mischief? Even so men of turbulent and seditious spirits in Ireland, impeached their lord chancellor and several of their judges: and the very same parliament which had passed an act the year before for four subsidies to the king, "as thinking nothing too much to shew their zeal and affection for his service"—in the preamble of which they sound the praise of the earl of Strafford in the most fulsome strains—veering about all on a sudden with the wind from England, reduced three of the subsidies to a sum so inconsiderable as to be scarce worth collecting; drew up a remonstrance against the earl as the author of their grievances and a destroyer of the natural freedom of their parliament; and conspired even with their enemies to bring his lordship to the scaffold. This remonstrance, obtained in a forcible unparliamentary manner, and which was fuller of passion and party than of truth or candour, was sent over to the king, against the consent of the lord deputy, by a committee of four lords and twelve

of the house of commons; almost all of them Roman Catholics. The king, to give them contentment, and the lord deputy being dead, appointed lord Dillon and Sir W. Parsons lords justices of that kingdom; but finding the former not agreeable to the committee and the English parliament, because of his intimacy and alliance with the earl of Strafford, his majesty imprudently cancelled the commission, and put Sir John Borlase, master of the ordnance, in the room of the lord Dillon.* That is, two violent puritans, nominally the king's deputies, but in reality the zealous servants of his enemies, who, in obedience to their instructions, did every thing to connive at the rebellion, and make it general, or at least extend it, for the prospect of confiscations. That they adhered punctually to the instructions sent them by the English commons, is evident from their conduct.

“ In the month of March 1641, the king had ordered Sir Henry Vand, one of the secretaries of state, to acquaint the lords justices, with an advice that had been given him from abroad, and confirmed by his ministers in Spain and other places, that there had then lately passed from Spain, and it was likely from other parts, an unspeakable number of Irish churchmen for England and Ireland, and some good old soldiers under pretext of asking leave to raise men for the king of Spain: whereas it is observed among the Irish friars in Spain, that a

* Warner. Hist. Reb. Irek.

whisper runs as if they expected a rebellion in Ireland, and particularly in Conaught. Wherefore his majesty thought fit to give their lordships this notice, that in their wisdoms they might manage the same with that dexterity and secrecy as to discover and prevent so pernicious a design, if any such there should be; and to have a watchful eye on the proceedings and actions of those who come thither from abroad on what pretext soever." It was necessary to recite particularly this letter: and the reader is desired to keep it in remembrance for reasons that will appear. But whatever wisdom or dexterity those lords justices might be possessed of, there is no account in any of the histories of that time, that they took any steps whatever in consequence of this advice; and I believe it is very certain that none were taken.

"An obscure intimation of some secret practices was also given to them, in a letter from sir William Cole, eleven days before the insurrection; informing them "that he had received intelligence from people of credit, that there had of late been a more than ordinary resort of people, and some of them from abroad, at the house of sir Phelim O'Neil in the county of Tyrone; which had bred a suspicion in the minds of honest people, that something of evil intention was then in agitation. They were the more apprehensive, he says, of this, because lord MacGuire had been observed to take frequent journeys lately to Dublin, into the Pale, and to sir Phelim's house. He had likewise received advice,

that his lordship had been writing letters a whole night together lately, and had dispatched away every man he had about him with them the next morning: and on the day sir William Cole wrote this account to the lords justices, he had received an information, " that lord Mac-Guire had appointed seven captains to entertain men for the service of the king of Spain; of the truth of which service, on account of the privacy which was observed, and for other reasons, he was much in doubt." To this letter the lords justices and council returned an answer; desiring sir William Cole to be very vigilant and industrious in order to find out the occasion of those meetings he had mentioned, and to give them intelligence of that or any other particular which he might think of service to the state. . . . It is certain however that on the twenty-first of October, two days before the breaking out of the rebellion, sir William Cole sent another letter to the council to give them notice of it; and it is as certain, according to sir John Temple, who was one of them, that those letters never came to their hands: though he does not pretend to say how, or where, they were intercepted."*

None so blind as he who WILL not see. The justices did not lay them before the privy council, because they chose not to follow them up with any measures. They had their motive and order for this, as they had for commanding the earl of Ormond to burn and lay waste the Pale, twenty-

* Warner. Hist. Reb. Irel.

five miles by seventeen, to force them to rebellion.

That the conductors of English democracy had, for several years, managed the plan of humbling church and state with great ability and perseverance, especially during the reign of Charles I. is obvious enough, from a summary of their proceedings. That they wished to involve Scotland and Ireland in insurrection and rebellion, before they drew the sword against his majesty, was a natural and easy policy; as the king would thereby be deprived of the resources of two kingdoms. They were sure of the alliance of the Scots, by bribery, and an affectation of zeal for the faith and discipline of the kirk. By getting the executive of Ireland into their hands, their deputy or deputies, acting in the name and by authority of the king, would be able to keep the Irish parties so distracted, by hostile divisions, that the king should derive no benefit from any of them. That the design was entertained by the leaders of the puritan faction, appears from a declaration of the duke of Argyle, head of the Scotch covenanters. On being asked, how he could expect to resist the king's forces and resources from the other two kingdoms? his answer was, in substance, the following. In England we are strong enough for him; as for Ireland, I can kindle such a spark there, as shall not soon, if ever, be extinguished.

From unbiassed consideration it becomes manifest, that the republican party, both puritanic and politician, needed great precaution, and deep

policy, to effect the great revolution in church and state at which they aimed. While they were constantly innovating, by their encroachments, on the prerogative; reducing the first magistrate to a king only by name, but in reality a dependent tool, under the management of a tyrannical, persecuting faction, they must wear the appearance of securing the hereditary rights and privileges of the people, and their representatives. By a treasonable use of the constitutional rights, vested in the commons, of withholding supplies until redress of grievances, they must make the crown odious and contemptible, both at home and abroad. In the very beginning of Charles's reign, they importuned him into a war with the two powerful houses of Bourbon and Austria, in support of the Protestant interest, a topic very popular in the most bigotted country in the world; when they found him deeply engaged in foreign alliances, and involved in expence, by withholding supplies, they forced him to forfeit the confidence and friendship of foreign powers, by a sudden breach of treaty; and also to diminish his credit at home, by breach of contract with individuals and companies. This great and deliberate blow at the power and credit of the monarchy, could not be struck without a design, which becomes more and more visible as we peruse the history of that unfortunate period, and observe the steady uniformity with which it was followed up, as occasions created or fortuitous offered. By withholding supplies, they put him on unparliamentary methods of raising

money; not unprecedented indeed, but irregular, inefficient, and contrary to the growing spirit of liberty, which they carefully disseminated and nurtured. These irregularities furnished items for fresh lists of grievances; topics for inflammatory, seditious declamations against bog-a-boo popery. Viewing the established church as a strong pillar of the monarchy, they encouraged, by example, authority and rewards, the growth of the fanatical sect of levellers, called Puritans, whose topics, and manner of address, were better accommodated to the mass of the people. As extremes beget each other, the church and monarchy clung closer, for mutual support: the one, preaching the indefeasible divine right of kings, and passive obedience, a prime duty of all subjects, not only for anger but for conscience sake: the other, lavish in bestowing honours, privileges, and powers royal, on the heads of the hierarchy: both studious of preserving ceremonies and forms, and even improving on them, so much detested as popish and satanical by the growing, dangerous sect.

Now comes on the reaction against the new church of England. The very artifices and plots, employed by herself to supplant the antient church; the panic terrors and horrors, excited by her constant hue and cry against popery, by her outrageous philipics against the scarlet whore and Antichrist, are now played off, with terrible success, against herself. She is accused of leaning to popery; of a settled plan, in conjunction with the king, to re-establish it. This

artifice was remarked by Hume, but acted on earlier than it dates in his book. "The people, under the influence of the nobility and clergy, could not fail to partake of the discontents, which prevailed among these two orders; and where real grounds of complaint were wanting, they greedily laid hold of imaginary ones. The same horror against popery, with which the English puritans were possessed, was observable among the populace in Scotland; and among these, as being more uncultivated and uncivilized, seemed rather to be inflamed into a higher degree of ferocity. The genius of religion, which prevailed with the court and prelacy, was of an opposite nature; and having some affinity with the Roman worship, led them to mollify, as much as possible, these severe prejudices, and to speak of the catholics in more charitable language, and with more reconciling expressions. From this foundation, a panic fear of popery was easily raised; and every new ceremony or ornament, introduced into divine service, was part of that great mystery of iniquity, which, from the encouragement of the king and bishops, was to overspread the nation. The few innovations, which James had made, were considered as preparatives to this grand design; and the farther alterations, attempted by Charles, were represented as a plain declaration of his intentions. Through the whole course of this reign, nothing had more fatal influence, in both kingdoms, than this groundless apprehension, which, with so much industry, was propagated, and

with so much credulity, was embraced by all ranks of men.”*

When the indiscreet attempt of Charles, to force the English liturgy on Scotland, produced rebellion and revolution in that kingdom, the friendly sympathy of the party in England with the rebels are evidence enough of their own intentions. “The king’s conduct, surely, in Scotland, had been, in every thing, except in establishing the ecclesiastical canons, more legal and justifiable, than in England; yet was there such a general resemblance, in the complaints of both kingdoms, that the English readily assented to all the representations of the Scottish malcontents, and believed that nation to have been driven, by oppression, into the violent counsels, which they had embraced. So far, therefore, from being willing to second the king in subduing the free spirits of the Scots, they rather pitied that unhappy people, who had been pushed to those extremities: and they thought, that the example of such neighbours, as well as their assistance, might, some time, be advantageous to England, and encourage her to recover, by a vigorous effort, her violated laws and liberties. The gentry and nobility, who, without attachment to the court, without command in the army, attended in great numbers the English camp, greedily seized, and propagated, and gave authority to these sentiments:”*

Advantages taken of the Scotch rebellion;

* Hume. Hist. Eng.

furth^r evidence. " Affairs likewise, by means of the Scottish insurrection, and the general discontents in England, were drawing so near a crisis, that the leaders of the house, sagacious and penetrating, began to foresee the consequences, and to hope, that the time, so long wished for, was now come, when royal authority must fall into a total subordination on popular assemblies, and when public liberty must acquire a full ascendant. By reducing the crown to necessities, they had hitherto found, that the king had been pushed into violent counsels, which had served extremely the purposes of his adversaries: and by multiplying these necessities, it was foreseen, that his prerogative, undermined on all sides, must, at last, be overthrown, and be no longer dangerous to the privileges of the people. Whatever, therefore, tended to compose the differences between king and parliament, and to preserve the government uniformly in its present channel, was zealously opposed by these popular leaders; and their past conduct and sufferings gave them credit sufficient to effect all their purposes. The house of commons, moved by these and many other obvious reasons, instead of taking notice of the king's complaints against his Scottish subjects, or his applications for supply, entered immediately upon grievances; and a speech, which Pym made on that subject, was much more hearkened to, than that which the lord-keeper had delivered them in the name of their sovereign."*

* *Ibid.* Hist. Eng.

Charles himself was not ignorant of their plan, though his proclamation could neither convince or reclaim his mislead fanaticised subjects. "The chief topic, on which he insisted, was, that the commons imitated the bad example of all their predecessors of late years, in making continual encroachments on his authority, in censuring his whole administration and conduct, in discussing every circumstance of public government, and in their indirect bargaining and contracting with their king for supply; as if nothing ought to be given him but what he should purchase, either by quitting somewhat of his royal prerogative, or by diminishing and lessening his standing revenue. These practices, he said, were contrary to the maxims of their ancestors; and these practices were totally incompatible with monarchy."*

Conjunction of the new fanaticism with mutiny and rebellion. "It may be worthy of remark, that several mutinies had arisen among the English troops, when marching to join the army; and some officers had been murdered, merely on suspicion of their being papists. The petition of right had abolished all martial law; and by an inconvenience, which naturally attended the plan, as yet new and unformed, of regular and rigid liberty, it was found absolutely impossible for the generals to govern the army, by all the authority, which the king could legally confer upon them."*

* Hume. Hist. Eng.

By the policy of the republican leaders in parliament, the king was thus deprived of army as well as of revenue.

Scots too were well acquainted with the views of the English leaders. "As many difficulties occurred in the negotiation with the Scots, it was proposed to transfer the treaty from Rippon to London: a proposal willingly embraced by that nation, who were now sure of treating with advantage, in a place, where the king, they foresaw, would be, in a manner, a prisoner, in the midst of his implacable enemies, and their determined friends."*

The long-parliament leaders, considering the season ripe for commencing the demolition of monarchy, began the war with an attack on the king's ministers and counsellors, impeaching lord Strafford and primate Laud; many took to flight, and dismay seized them all, whereupon the whole sovereign power, being thus in a manner "transferred to the commons, and the government, without any seeming violence or disorder, being changed, in a moment, from a monarchy almost absolute, to a pure democracy; the popular leaders seemed willing, for some time, to suspend their active vigour, and to consolidate their authority, ere they proceeded to any violent exercise of it."*

Further weapons used by the republicans were the press and the pulpit. "The harangues of members, now first published and dispersed,

* Hume. Hist. Eng.

kept alive the discontents against the king's administration. The pulpits, delivered over to puritanical preachers and lecturers, whom the commons arbitrarily settled in all the considerable churches, resounded with faction and fanaticism. Vengeance was fully taken for that long silence and constraint, in which, by the authority of Laud and the high commission, these preachers had been retained. The press, freed from all fear or reserve, swarmed with productions, dangerous by their seditious zeal and calumny, more than by any art or eloquence of composition. Noise and fury, cant and hypocrisy, formed the sole rhetoric, which, during this tumult of various prejudices and passions, could be heard or attended to."*

Seditious libellers against the king and government, liberated, rewarded, honored by the commons. "The severe sentence which had been executed against Prynne, Bastwic, and Burton, now suffered a revival from parliament. These libellers, far from being tamed by the rigorous punishments, which they had undergone, shewed still a disposition of repeating their offence; and the ministers were afraid, lest new satires should issue from their prisons, and inflame still farther the prevailing discontents. By an order, therefore, of council, they had been carried to remote prisons; Bastwic to Scilly, Prynne to Jersey, Burton to Guernsey; all access to them was denied; and the use of books, and of pen, ink, and paper, was refused them. The sentence for

* Hume. Hist. Eng.

these additional punishments was immediately reversed by the commons: even the first sentence, upon examination, was declared illegal; and the judges, who passed it, were ordered to make reparation to the sufferers. When the prisoners landed in England, they were received and entertained with the highest demonstrations of affection, were attended with a mighty confluence of company, their charges were borne with great magnificence, and liberal presents bestowed on them. On their approach to any town, all the inhabitants crowded to receive them, and welcomed their reception with shouts and acclamations. Their train still increased as they drew near to London. Several miles from the city, the zealots of their party met them in great multitudes, and attended their triumphant entrance: boughs were carried in this tumultuous procession, the roads were strewed with flowers; and amidst the highest exultations of joy, were intermingled loud and virulent invectives against the prelates, who had so cruelly persecuted such godly personages. The more ignoble these men were, the more sensible was the tumult upon royal authority, and the more dangerous was the spirit of disaffection and mutiny, which it discovered among the people. Lilburne, Leighton, and every one that had been punished for seditious libels during the precedent administration, now recovered their liberty, and were decreed damages on the judges and ministers of justice.”*

* Hume. Hist. Eng.

New methods of giving publicity and celebrity to libels, encouraged by the commons, who published them in the shape of petitions to parliament, for redress of grievances, real or fictitious.

“ Not only the present disposition of the nation ensured impunity to all libellers: a new method of framing and dispersing libels was invented by the leaders of popular discontents. Petitions to parliament were drawn, craving redress against particular grievances; and when a sufficient number of subscriptions were procured, the petitions were presented to the commons, and immediately published. These petitions became secret bonds of association among the subscribers, and seemed to give undoubted sanction and authority to the complaints, which they contained.”*

Forgery employed by the commons, to give the sanction of moderate or reputable men to what they never would subscribe. “ It is pretended by historians favourable to the royal cause, and even asserted by the king himself in a declaration, that a most disingenuous or rather criminal practice prevailed, in conducting many of these addresses. A petition was first framed; moderate, reasonable, such as men of character willingly subscribed. The names were afterwards torn off, and affixed to another petition, which served better the purposes of the popular faction. We may judge of the wild fury, which prevailed throughout the nation, when so scanda-

* Hume. Hist. Eng.

ious an imposture, which affected such numbers of people, could be openly practised, without drawing infamy and ruin, upon the managers.”*

Means employed to encrease the terrors and fury of the fanaticized public, ridiculous in themselves; but it seems no absurdity is too gross for the bigotted palate of the Bull family in a rage. “Alarms were every day given of new conspiracies: in Lancashire, great multitudes of papists were gathering together: secret meetings were held by them in caves and under-ground in Surry: they had entered into a plot to blow up the river with gun-powder, in order to drown the city: provisions of arms were making beyond sea: sometimes France, sometimes Denmark, was forming designs against the kingdom.”*

The decreeing, levying, and receipt of the revenue, and consequently the power of raising loans, being now vested in the commons, they use that as a pretext for decreeing themselves indissoluble and perpetual. “The commons, from policy, more than from necessity, had embraced the expedient of paying the two armies by borrowing money from the city; and these loans they had repaid afterwards by taxes levied upon the people. The citizens, either of themselves or by suggestion, began to start difficulties, with regard to a farther loan which was demanded. We make no scruple of trusting the parliament, said they, were we certain, that the parliament was to continue till our repayment. But, in the

* Hume. Hist. Eng.

present precarious situation of affairs, what security can be given us for our money? In order to obviate this objection, a bill was suddenly brought into the house, and passed with great unanimity and rapidity, that the parliament should not be dissolved, prorogued, nor adjourned, without their own consent. It was hurried in like manner through the house of peers; and was instantly carried to the king for his assent. Charles, in the agony of grief, shame, and remorse, for Strafford's doom, perceived not that this other bill was of still more fatal consequence to his authority; and rendered the power of his enemies perpetual, as it was already uncontrollable."*

Further rewards and honors granted to the Scots for their successful rebellion. "The Scots, who first began these fatal commotions, thought; that they had finished a very perilous undertaking, much to their profit and reputation. Besides the large pay voted them for lying in good quarters during a twelvemonth, the English parliament had conferred on them a present of £300,000 for their brotherly assistance. In the articles of pacification, they were declared to have ever been good subjects: and their military expeditions were approved of, as enterprizes calculated and intended for his majesty's honour and advantage. To carry farther the triumph over their sovereign, these terms, so ignominious to him, were ordered, by a vote of parliament, to

* Hume, Hist. Eng.

be read in all churches, upon a day of thanksgiving, appointed for the national pacification: all their claims, for the restriction of prerogative, were agreed to be ratified: and what they more valued than all these advantages, they had a near prospect of spreading the presbyterian discipline in England and Ireland, from the seeds, which they had scattered, of their religious principles. Never did refined Athens so exult in diffusing the sciences and liberal arts over a savage world; never did generous Rome so please herself in the view of law and order established by her victorious arms; as the Scots now rejoiced, in communicating their barbarous zeal, and theological fervour, to the neighbouring nations."*

Charles, meanwhile, endeavours by humiliation and complaisance to gain over or mollify his Scotch enemies; and, with a base policy, disgraceful and fatal to his family, courts and promotes his enemies, while he neglects his friends.

The republican party gave a fatal blow to royal authority, by voting that no privy councillor, or judge, should be appointed but by advice of parliament, and should continue during good behaviour, consequently, removeable by the advice of the commons.

The reader will perceive the necessity of this brief sketch on the progress of the republican party, civil and spiritual, during the reign of

* Hume. Hist. Engl.

Charles; and also on the weak and wicked measures of the Stuart family; because there is no understanding the convulsions of Ireland without them. It is not by detaching Irish affairs from those of Great Britain, as if utterly unconnected and uninfluenced by the latter, they can be explained or understood. Whoever, like Warner, in his history of the Irish rebellion, attempts to give such an insulated scrap of history, convicts himself of wilful prevarication or incapacity. From the forementioned succinct account, every man of common sense will perceive, that a republican party long existed in England, partly puritans, partly patriots. The contiguous example of republican, presbyterian Holland, rapidly risen to commercial greatness and naval power, under them institutions, raised envy and emulation in Great Britain; and the commonwealth party was gradually gaining ground, by the influence of these motives and example, but much more by the numerous and fatal errors of Charles. That their plan of undermining the monarchy was, by involving the king in difficulties, and refusing the means of extricating himself with honor, becomes evident from the very beginning. Another part of their plan was, to drive him on illegal means of supporting the executive; by withholding legal support, except on such terms as would, if complied with, overturn the monarchy. We have seen, that the party never missed any opportunity of seizing on every branch of the executive; witness the advantage they took of the king's unfortunate error in

attempting to enforce conformity on the Scotch. They fraternized immediately with the Scotch rebels. They not only absolved them from any disloyalty, they panegyricized, subsidized, and flattered them, by publicly adopting their mode of worship, and endeavouring to make it national. Through that alliance, they made themselves perpetual. They took the revenue and loans into their own hands. They took the appointment and dismissal of all privy councillors, officers of state, and judges. They had all Scotland, and a powerful party in England, to back them, in the meditated attack on monarchy, by the sinews and means of war of which they had deprived it. There was no part of his dominions whence he might derive any considerable aid against them, but Ireland. It therefore entered early into their plan, to excite commotions there; as we observe in the declaration of the duke of Argyle. In their refusal to permit eight thousand Irishmen to be conveyed to Flanders; lest, after being disciplined, they should be at the king's devotion. In their refusal to allow five thousand men on the Irish establishment. In their appointing Parsons and Borlase, their creatures, to be nominally the king's, but in reality their own deputies, who were to manage matters so as to keep the wisp alive once kindled. Finally, they saw great advantages to themselves therefrom, as well as disadvantages to the king. It would furnish a pretext for raising troops, money, and amassing military stores, for the intended campaign, not to be fought in Ireland, but in

England. It would supply ample nutriment to the furious zeal against popery, with which they had intoxicated the nation, and which put absolute power in their hands. It would furnish topics of abuse and defamation against Charles, to make him odious to Englishmen and protestants; and detach as many as possible from his party, by representing him as the author of a sanguinary popish rebellion, and the massacre of his Irish protestant subjects, by Irish papists. The number massacred should, in sound policy, be exaggerated as much as possible, even beyond credibility, or even possibility, in order to increase the general horror and consternation, and therewith their own power. They would thence have the further advantage of classing the king's friends under the name of malignants. "The Irish rebellion was the event, which tended most to promote the views, in which all their measures terminated. A horror against the papists, however innocent, they had constantly encouraged; a terror against the conspiracies of that sect, however improbable, they had at all times endeavoured to excite. Here was broke out a rebellion, dreadful and unexpected;* accompanied with circumstances the most detestable, of which there ever was any record:† and what was the peculiar guilt of the Irish catholics, it was no difficult matter, in the present disposition of mens' minds, to attribute to that whole

* Feigned to be unexpected.

† Heightened by the exaggerations of sectarian, national, and political enemies, with unparalleled impudence.

sect, who were already so much the object of general abhorrence. Accustomed, in all invectives, to join the prelatical party with the papists, the people immediately supposed this insurrection to be the result of their united counsels. And when they heard, that the Irish rebels pleaded the king's commission for all their violences; bigotry, ever credulous and malignant, assented without scruple to that gross imposture, and loaded the unhappy prince with the whole enormity of a contrivance so barbarous and inhuman.

“ By the difficulties and distresses of the crown, the commons, who possessed alone the power of supply, had aggrandized themselves; and it seemed a peculiar happiness, that the Irish rebellion had succeeded, at so critical a juncture, to the pacification of Scotland. That expression of the king's, by which he committed to them the care of Ireland, they immediately laid hold of, and interpreted in the most unlimited sense. They had, on other occasions, been gradually encroaching on the executive power of the crown, which forms its principal and most natural branch of authority; but with regard to Ireland, they at once assumed it, fully and entirely, as if delivered over to them by a regular gift or assignment. And to this usurpation the king was obliged passively to submit; both because of his inability to resist, and lest he should expose himself still more to the reproach of favouring the progress of that odious rebellion.

“ The project of introducing farther innova-

tions in England being once formed by the leaders among the commons, it became a necessary consequence, that their operations with regard to Ireland would, all of them, be considered as subordinate to the former, on whose success, when once undertaken, their own grandeur, security, and even being, must entirely depend. While they pretended the utmost zeal against the Irish insurrection, they took no steps towards its suppression, but such as likewise tended to give them the superiority in those commotions, which, they foresaw, must so soon be excited in England. The extreme contempt, entertained towards the natives in Ireland, made the popular leaders believe, that it would be easy at any time to suppress their rebellion, and recover that kingdom: nor were they willing to lose, by too hasty success, the advantage, which that rebellion would afford them in their projected encroachments on the prerogative. By assuming the total management of the war, they acquired the courtship and dependence of every one, who had any connexion with Ireland, or who was desirous of inlisting in these military enterprizes: they levied money under pretence of the Irish expedition; but reserved it for purposes, which concerned them more nearly: they took arms from the king's magazines; but still kept them, with a secret intention of employing them against himself: whatever law they deemed necessary for aggrandizing themselves, was voted, under colour of enabling them to recover Ireland; and if Charles withheld the royal assent, his refusal was

imputed to those pernicious counsels, which had at first excited the popish rebellion, and which still threatened total ruin to the protestant interest throughout all his dominions. And though no forces were for a long time sent over to Ireland, and very little money remitted, during the extreme distress of that kingdom; so strong was the people's attachment to the commons, that the fault was never imputed to those pious zealots, whose votes breathed nothing but death and destruction to the Irish rebels.

“ To make the attack on royal authority by regular approaches, it was thought proper to frame a general remonstrance of the state of the kingdom; and accordingly the committee, which, at the first meeting of the parliament, had been chosen for that purpose, and which had hitherto made no advance in their work, received fresh injunctions to finish that undertaking.

“ The committee brought into the house that remonstrance, which has become so memorable, and which was soon afterwards attended with such important consequences. It was not addressed to the king: but was openly declared to be an appeal to the people. The harshness of the matter was equalled by the severity of the language. It consists of many gross falsehoods, intermingled with some evident truths: malignant insinuations are joined to open invectives: loud complaints of the past, accompanied with jealous prognostications of the future. Whatever unfortunate, whatever invidious, whatever suspicious measure, had been embraced by the king from the commencement of

his reign, is insisted on and aggravated with merciless rhetoric: the unsuccessful expeditions to Cadiz and the isle of Rhé are mentioned: the sending of ships to France for suppression of the hugonots: the forced loans: the illegal confinement of men for not obeying illegal commands: the violent dissolution of four parliaments: the arbitrary government which always succeeded: the questioning, fining, and imprisoning of members for their conduct in the house: the levying of taxes without consent of the commons: the introducing of superstitious innovations into the church, without authority of law: in short, every thing, which, either with or without reason, had given offence, during the course of fifteen years, from the accession of the king to the calling of the present parliament. And, though all these grievances had been already redressed, and even laws enacted for future security against their return, the praise of these advantages was ascribed, not to the king, but to the parliament, who had extorted his consent to such salutary statutes. Their own merits too, they asserted, towards the king, were equally great, as towards the people. Though they had seized his whole revenue, rendered it totally precarious, and made even their temporary supplies be paid to their own commissioners, who were independent of him; they pretended, that they had very liberally supported him in his necessities. By an insult still more egregious, the very giving of money to the Scots for levying war against their sovereign, they represented as

an instance of their duty towards him. And all their grievances, they said, which amounted to no less than a total subversion of the constitution, proceeded entirely from the formed combination of a popish faction, who had ever swayed the king's counsels, who had endeavoured, by an uninterrupted effort, to introduce their superstition into England and Scotland; and who had now, at last, excited an open and bloody rebellion in Ireland.

“ This remonstrance, so full of acrimony and violence, was a plain signal for some farther attacks intended on royal prerogative, and a declaration, that the concessions, already made, however important, were not to be regarded as satisfactory.

“ The first instance of those parliamentary encroachments, which Charles was now to look for, was, the bill for pressing soldiers to the service of Ireland. This bill quickly passed the lower house. In the preamble, the king's power of pressing, a power exercised during all former times, was declared illegal, and contrary to the liberty of the subject. By a necessary consequence, the prerogative, which the crown had ever assumed, of obliging men to accept of any branch of public service, was abolished and annihilated: a prerogative, it must be owned, not very compatible with a limited monarchy. In order to elude this law, the king offered to raise ten thousand volunteers for the Irish service: but the commons were afraid lest such an army should be too much at his devotion. Charles,

still unwilling to submit to so considerable a diminution of power, came to the house of peers, and offered to pass the law without the preamble; by which means, he said, that ill-timed question with regard to the prerogative would for the present be avoided, and the pretensions of each party be left entire. Both houses took fire at this measure, which, from a similar instance, while the bill of attainder against Strafford was in dependence, Charles might foresee, would be received with resentment. The lords, as well as commons, passed a vote, declaring it to be a high breach of privilege for the king to take notice of any bill, which was in agitation in either of the houses, or to express his sentiments with regard to it, before it be presented to him for his assent in a parliamentary manner. The king was obliged to compose all matters by an apology.”*

But what connection have their affairs with the rise of the Irish rebellion? Indeed were we to credit the gratuitous assertions of Warner, Leland, and Hume, together with other partial historians, little or none. The first of these gentlemen gravely prefaces his party-coloured account of that disastrous event in the following words, in flat contradiction to facts, known to every one but those who wilfully shut their eyes to truth. “Amidst a general tranquillity, which had been established in Ireland for many years, when all former animosities seemed to have been extinguished, and every principle of distinction

* Hume. Hist. Eng.

seemed to have been laid aside, that a rebellion should have been concerted, and without the knowledge or suspicion of any but the contrivers, should break out on a sudden into acts of cruelty in several parts of the kingdom, on one and the same day, is an historical event so very astonishing and improbable as posterity can scarcely credit, yet the fact is undeniable. "After all this rant he attempts to assign causes, but certainly not the true. What Hume says of it is a virulent retorical scolding, in which there is scarce a line without a lie.

It was not unknown to every one but the Irish contrivers; for many in England and Scotland had an active share in promoting it. First, the Stuart family powerfully paved the way for it, by tyrannizing and plundering the Irish. For the plunder of all the lords and gentlemen of six counties in Ulster, James had no other pretence than an Irish plot, forged in concert by himself and his Satanic minister Cecil. There was no pretence looked for, to dispossess the O'Farrels of the county of Longford, and plant Englishmen in their places. What plea had Charles or Strafford, but that of robbers, in demanding the estates of Irish gentlemen, and fining and imprisoning jurors for not swearing them away from the rightful owners to the king? 'Tis true, the king had some qualms in receiving the plunder of his subjects, but was reconciled by the indigence to which the parliament had reduced him, and by the logic of Strafford and cash. Was there no provocation in the cruelty with which the penal laws were enforced

by the puritan governors and bishops? from which, when the catholics endeavoured to liberate themselves, by a large offer of subsidy, Usher and his colleagues declared it impious and blasphemous to compound for toleration with an idolatrous religion! Such and so great were the oppressions and extortions, practised on the Irish, briefly mentioned in the foregoing pages, as made lord Mountjoy, the too successful enemy of Ireland, declare, according to the testimony of his secretary Morrison, they were sufficient to throw the quietest state into confusion. Nevertheless, though the oppressions left irritation and discontent in the public mind, they were not capable of raising any general insurrection. The sufferers by the late iniquitous plantations would, no doubt, gladly seize the first opportunity of revenge and restitution; but the majority would, probably, have discountenanced them, and remain tranquil, or rise only in defence of the king.

This statement may appear inconsistent with the oppressions and grievances forementioned, suffered by the Irish; but a little reflection will reconcile them. The English settlers were now become the most powerful and leading men among the Irish catholics, almost equal, even in number, to the antient natives. Two principal motives, besides the hazard of the contest, and the apprehension of discord, would deter those from countenancing or abetting the insurrection of the dispossessed Irish, or a general commotion. First, their dread of a similar resumption of

lands from themselves, if the rebellion succeeded; an apprehension of which was manifested by the Catholic council, on refusing O'Neil's petition for the restitution of their lands to the northern Irish. Secondly, as catholics, though they had sustained many injuries from the king's government, yet they justly apprehended much heavier calamities from his enemies, the furious persecuting Covenanters. Through the whole of the rebellion, their inclination to the king's service was as palpable, as that of the royal and catholic army of la Vendee was to the service of Louis XVI. Notwithstanding former injuries, therefore, it was their interest to preserve the general tranquillity, and reserve the means of the kingdom for Charles, in his arduous conflict with his rebellious subjects of England and Scotland. They might easily foresee, that, if the royalists triumphed, though the Stuarts were not noted for gratitude, their condition would be far more tolerable than if they fell under the yoke of the sanguinary, intolerant Covenanters. Here we cannot but admire the justice and wisdom that presides in the moral government of God over his creatures, dispensing by unseen, but irresistible power, retributive justice and retaliation on the powerful of the earth as well as the weakest. Had James I. permitted the northern Irish to enjoy the benefit of the treaty of 1603, he would have them, in the opinion of their conqueror, Mountjoy, the most loyal and peaceable subjects in Ireland; and, in the opinion of chancellor Bacon, he would have got a va-

luable acquisition in such subjects for such lands. Satisfied with the lowlier honors of their new situation, on a more secure and permanent basis, they would willingly take their share in the legislative, judicial and magistratical functions; contribute to support the military and civil establishments; and their new superiors might, by experience, have known their worth and their valor. Had James suffered the Irish to enjoy their religion unmolested, and their parliament free, unpacked, his son, in the day of his need, would have a catholic nation rising in his defence, whose energies would be guided by catholic officers, and a catholic legislature. The only emulation between the old and new Irish would be, that of zeal for the service of the king. What powerful auxiliaries they would prove, we may collect from two grounds, one of fact, the other of opinion. Two thousand Irish, accompanied by eight hundred Germans, marched into England, with Perkin Warbeck, where, met by a royal army above twenty times their number, they were all cut to pieces, after performing prodiges of valor. The malignity of English and Anglo-Irish historians, attributes the glory of this desperate conflict almost exclusively to the steady bravery of the Germans; but inadvertently they mention an opinion, current in England after this battle, that, if the king of England was king of Ireland, so as to fill his armies with Irishmen, he might conquer Europe and Turkey, and be crowned emperor of the west.

The long parliament knew how to profit by the crimes and follies of the Stuarts. They were well acquainted with the vulnerable parts, the plundered north, and other displanted parts, and that the reigning power had planted in Ulster the enemies of their house, and allies of the Covenanters, in the place of those antient proprietors, who would, in this emergency, prove faithful subjects, if worthily treated. Such, at least, was the opinion of lord Mountjoy, who, after subjugating them by inhuman methods, recommended the terms of the treaty to be faithfully kept; by which conduct the north would prove the most peaceable and obedient part of the kingdom. So thought likewise chancellor Bacon, in his advice to Cecil, to deal liberally with the Irish in the distribution of their lands; i. e. not to rob them of all, but leave them some portion thereof, as her majesty would make a good purchase of such subjects for such lands. Instead of following the sage counsel of these statesmen, James and his minister Cecil, with a profligate and perfidious contrivance of a sham plot, took pretence of confiscating six counties in Ulster, whereby they planted the thorn of distress and anguish in the hearts of the brave sufferers, and their descendents, and thus prepared the combustible materials, that first caught flame; without which acts of royal robbery there would be no insurrection in the island, except one in favor of the king and constitution. How slight were the causes of disaffection in England and Scotland, compared with

the heavy grievances, long and patiently endured by the Irish, appears from comparing the records of the times. The former revolted against a king, whose whole reign was a series of concessions and graces to them; whose administration was frugal and patriotic, as a prudent parent would administer for favored children. The latter were governed with a rod of iron, insecure in their persons and properties, persecuted for their religion, wounded in every feeling of the heart.

When the ill adviser, and tyrannic deputy, Strafford, was arraigned for high treason, and a committee of the Irish house of commons attended to prefer complaints of their grievances against him, the king seems to have become sensible of his mal-administration, and gave orders to the justices, Parsons and Borlace, to transmit bills for the purpose of securing the Irish in the possession of their estates. The lords justices, of the covenanting faction, creatures of the rebel parliament, were better inclined to obey the secret instructions of their patrons, than the orders of Charles; besides, an insurrection opened a prospect of gaining estates from confiscated lands. Private interest being thus combined with the views of the faction, led them to disobey the king's commands, and frustrate his conciliatory measures. "Had his majesty's commands, to pass the bills for securing the estates of the natives, and for confirming the other promised graces, been duly executed, or rather not positively disobeyed by their lordships, the dreadful

insurrection of the following year, either would not at all have happened, or would have been quickly suppressed. Such, at least, was his majesty's opinion; as we find by his answer to a declaration of the English commons on that occasion; for there he tells them, "that if he had been obeyed in the Irish affairs, before he went to Scotland, there had been no Irish rebellion; or after it had begun, it would have been in a few months suppressed, if his directions had been observed: for if the king had been suffered to perform his engagements to the Irish agents, and had disposed of the discontented Irish army beyond sea, there is nothing more clear, than that there could have been no rebellion in Ireland, because they had wanted both pretence and means to have made one."

"At this time it was confidently reported in Ireland, that the Scottish army had threatened never to lay down their arms, till an uniformity of religion was established in the three kingdoms, and the catholic religion suppressed. "A letter," says Mr. Carte, "was intercepted coming from Scotland, to one Freeman, of Antrim, giving an account, that a covenanting army was ready to come for Ireland, under the command of general Leslie, to extirpate the Roman catholics of Ulster, and leave the Scots sole possessors of that province; and to this end, a resolution had been taken in their private meetings, and councils, to lay heavy fines upon such as would not appear at their kirk, for the first or second Sunday; and on failure the third, to hang, without mercy,

all such as were obstinate, at their own doors."

"The whole body of the catholic nobility and gentry of Ireland declared in their remonstrance at Trim, which was delivered in due form to his majesty's commissioners, in March 1642, that previous to the insurrection, "certain dangerous and pernicious petitions, contrived by the advice and counsel of sir William Parsons, sir Adam Loftus, sir John Clothworthy, and sundry others of the malignant party in the city of Dublin, in the province of Ulster, and several other parts of the kingdom, directed to the commons house in England, were at public assizes and other public places made known and read to many persons of quality; which petitions contained matters destructive to the said catholic religion, lives and estates."*

This dread of an extirpation, as appears from a multitude of depositions taken before Dr. Henry Jones, and other commissioners appointed by the lords justices, prevailed universally among the catholics of Ireland, and was insisted upon, as one of the principal reasons for their taking arms.

* "Some time before the rebellion broke out, says Mr. Carte, it was confidently reported, that Sir John Clothworthy, who well knew the designs of the faction that governed the house of commons in England, had declared there in a speech, that the conversion of the papists in Ireland, was only to be effected by the bible in one hand and the sword in the other; and Mr. Pym gave out, that they would not leave a priest in Ireland. To the like effect sir William Parsons, out of a strange weakness, or detestable policy, positively asserted before many witnesses, at a public entertainment, that within a twelvemonth, no catholic should

The earl of Ormond, in his letters of January 27th, and February 26th, 1641, to William St. Leger, imputes the general revolt of the nation, then far advanced, to the publishing of such a design."*

Considering all the wrongs and oppressions, heaped on the Irish nation during two successive reigns, their attachment to the Stuart family would appear at first sight unaccountable; yet, on some consideration, the causes thereof will appear. The far greater part of the landed property of Ireland was by this time vested in English colonists, settled thereon at different periods. All these, entertaining jealousies of the antient proprietors, held the connexion with England as necessary to their secure possession of what had been ravished from the Milesians. Even those who adhered to the catholic faith, chose rather to endure the penalties and disqualifications, inflicted by a protestant government, than risk the revival of old claims by a separation. In a situation, presenting according to their judgments but a choice, they naturally adopted

be seen in Ireland; he had sense enough to know the consequences that would naturally arise from such a declaration; which, however it might contribute to his own selfish views, he would have hardly have ventured to make so openly, and without disguise, if it had not been agreeable to the politics and measures of the English faction, whose party he espoused, and whose directions were the general rule of his conduct."

"It is evident," says Dr. Warner, "from the lord justice's letter to the earl of Leicester, then lord lieutenant, that they hoped for an extirpation, not of the meer Irish only, but of all the old English families also, that were Roman catholics."

* Curry. Civil Wars, Ire.

what appeared to them the least. In the conflict between the king and his rebellious subjects, both catholics and church-established protestants espoused the royal cause, from motives equally strong. 'Tis true, the former suffered penalties and pains under the monarchy, but then its enemies proclaimed the utter suppression of popery, and the extermination of papists, of whatsoever nation, rank or condition, without respect of persons; as may be seen in that canting, fanatical, intolerant libel on religion and common sense, called the solemn league and covenant,* subscribed by James VI. of Scotland, his parliament &c. an. 1580, subscribed again, an. 1584, an. 1590, an. 1638, an. 1639; the next year, 1640, the blessed fruits of the covenant appeared in a horrid rebellion, raised by the covenanters against their

* " The National Covenant, or the Confession of Faith. We all, and every one of us under written protest, that after long and due examination of our consciences in matters of true and false religion, we are now thoroughly resolved of the truth; by the word and spirit of God: and therefore we believe with our hearts, confess with our mouths, subscribe with our hands, and constantly affirm before God and the whole world, that this is the only true christian faith and religion pleasing God, and bringing salvation to man, which now is by the mercy of God revealed to the world, by the preaching of the blessed Evangel, and received, believed, and defended by many and sundry notable kirks and realms, but chiefly by the kirk of Scotland, and the king's majesty, and three estates of this realm, as God's eternal truth, and only ground of our salvation, as more particularly is expressed in the confession of our faith, established, and publicly confirmed by sundry acts of parliaments, and now of a long time hath been openly professed by the king's majesty, and whole body of this realm, both in burgh, and land. To the which

lawful sovereign, who had behaved towards his English and Scotch subjects as one of their best kings. The hierarchy and faith by law established in England and Ireland was in like manner threatened with suppression from the same quarter, which consequently could not be favoured by their real partizans. "Every measure pursued by the commons, and still more, every attempt made by their partizans, were full of the most inveterate hatred against the hierarchy, and shewed a determined resolution of subverting the whole ecclesiastical establishment."*

Every partial historian, writing with the base design of vilifying Irishmen, strangely perplex and confound themselves and their readers, by misrepresenting the transactions of these times. With Warner, all was tranquillity, peace and

* Hume. Hist. Eng.

confession and form of religion, we willingly agree in our consciences in all points, as unto God's undoubted truth and verity, grounded only upon his written word: and therefore, we abhor and detest all contrary religion, and doctrine: but chiefly, all kind of papistry in general and particular heads, even as they are now damned, and confuted by the word of God, and kirk of Scotland. But in special we detest and refuse the usurped authority of that Roman antichrist upon the scriptures of God, upon the kirk, the civil magistrate, and consciences of men; all his tyrannous laws made upon indifferent things against the sufficiency of the written word, the perfection of the law, the office of Christ, and his blessed evangel, his corrupted doctrine concerning original sin, our natural inability and rebellion to God's law, our justification by faith only, our imperfect sanctification and obedience to the law, the nature, number, and use of the holy sacraments, with all his rites, ceremonies, and false doctrine, added to the ministration of the true sacra-

good government, during forty years antecedent to the insurrection. Leland too, though he allows that individuals suffered oppression from lord Wentworth, yet commends his administration, as advantageous to the nation at large. If the enquiry into defective titles, together with other intolerable grievances, already stated, may be considered as advantageous to Ireland, let the reader judge. Certainly, impartial consideration will suggest to every reflecting mind, sentiments coincident with the crocodile pity, simulating the language of candour and truth, flowing from the insidious policy of Pitt and his colleagues, debating for the downfall of Ireland. "When the connexion with Ireland was something more than a name, when that connexion was ascertained, and the imperial parliament of this country, ex-

ments without the word of God: his cruel judgment against infants, departing without the sacraments; his absolute necessity of baptism: blasphemous opinion of transubstantiation, or real presence of Christ's body in the elements, and receiving of the same by the wicked, or bodies of men: his dispensations with solemn oaths, perjuries, and decrees of marriage forbidden in the word: his cruelty against the innocent divorced: his devilish mass: his blasphemous priesthood: his profane sacrifice for the sins of the dead and the quick: his canonization of men; calling upon angels or saints departed: worshipping of imagery relicks and crosses; dedicating of kirks, altars, days vows to creatures; his purgatory prayers for the dead, praying or speaking in a strange language; with his processions, blasphemous letany and multitude of advocates or mediators: his manifold orders, auricular confession: his general and doubtful faith: his satisfactions of men for their sins; his justification by works, opus operatum, works of supererogation, merits, pardons, pergrinations, and stations: his holy water, baptizing of

exercised a supremacy over Ireland ; it did happen, that during that period, the narrow policy of Great Britain, influenced with views of trade and commercial advantage, tainted and perverted with selfish motives, treated Ireland with partiality and neglect ; and never looked on her growth and prosperity as that of the empire at large ; I reprobated that policy—as much as the honourable gentleman, (Mr. Fox)—as mischievous, and pregnant with the most fatal consequences to both countries.”

“ Let no man think that I consider the conduct of Great Britain before the Settlement of 1782, liberal. We certainly had acted previously with a narrow selfish policy towards Ireland, jealous of their commercial prosperity, looking upon them as rivals of our property, we only re-

bells: conjuring up of spirits: hallowing of God's good creature, with the superstitious opinions joyned therewith: his worldly monarchy: and wicked hierarchy: his three solemn vows, with all his shavelings of sundry sorts: his erroneous and bloody decrees made at Trent, with all this subscribers and approvers of that cruel and bloody bond, conjured against the kirk of God. And finally, we detest all his vain allegories, rites, signs and traditions brought in the kirk, without or against the word of God, and doctrine of this true reformed kirk: to the which we join ourselves willingly, in doctrine, faith, religion, discipline, and use of the holy sacraments, as lively members of the same, in Christ our head, promising and swearing by the great name of the Lord our God, that we shall continue in the obedience of the doctrine and discipline of this kirk, and shall defend the same according to our vocation and power, all the days of our lives, under the pains contained in the law, and danger both of body and soul in the day of God's fearful judgment. And seeing that many are stirred up by satan, and that Rōmaa

garded them as the instruments of our own aggrandisement.

“ Lord Hawkesbury agreed with the right honourable gentleman in depreciating that system which had long prevailed with respect to Ireland ; no one more than he abhorred the code of laws, and the whole policy which England had for ages exercised towards Ireland :—since it was evident, that the system under which Ireland was governed, was some how or other constitutionally defective.”

Though I differ with all the partizan writers, who oppose facts ; in asserting that grievances pressed on the Irish, during the reigns of James and Charles, sufficient to throw the best settled country into confusion, yet these were so far counterpoised by the dread of far greater evils,

antichrist, to promise, swear, subscribe, and for a time use the holy sacraments in the kirk deceitfully against their own consciences, minding thereby, first, under the external cloak of religion, to corrupt and subvert secretly God's true religion within the kirk ; and afterward, when time may serve, to become open enemies and persecutors of the same, under vain hopes of the popes dispensation, devised against the word of God, to his greater confusion ; and their double condemnation in the day of the Lord Jesus ; we therefore, willing to take away all suspicion of hypocrisy, and of such double dealing with God and his kirk, protest ; and call the searcher of all hearts for witness, that our minds and hearts do fully agree with this our confession, promise, oath, and subscription, so that we are not moved for any worldly respect but are persuaded only in our consciences, through the knowledge and love of God's true religion, printed in our hearts, by the holy spirit, as we shall answer to him in the day, when the secrets of all hearts shall be disclosed. And because we perceive, that the quietness and stability of our religion and

even extermination, from the puritanic covenants, that Charles apprehended no rebellion in Ireland; and declared, after it broke out, that if his orders had been obeyed by the justices, Parsons and Borlase, there would have been none, or, if any, but partial, and soon suppressed.

Anglo-Irish and English writers labour to render the cause of the Irish insurgents indefensible, by declaiming on the equity and justice of Strafford's administration. In support of their erroneous relations, they cite an encomium on the deputy, fraudulently entered on the journals by his own contrivance; altogether omitting, with Carte, or affecting to discredit, with Warner, the protest of the Irish commons against the forgery. It will appear obvious to the impartial enquirer, whether it be more probable, that a

kirk, doth depend upon the safety and good behaviour of the king's majesty, as upon a comfortable instrument of God's mercy, granted to this country for the maintaining of his kirk, and ministration of justice amongst us, we protest and promise with our heart, under the same oaths, hand-write, and pains, that we shall defend his person and authority, with goods, bodies, and lives, in the defence of Christ his evangel, liberties of our country, ministration of justice, and punishment of iniquity, against all enemies within this realm, or without; as we desire our God to be a strong and merciful defender to us, in the day of our death, and coming of our Lord Jesus Christ: to whom with the Father and the holy Spirit, be all honour and glory eternally."

"A Solemn League and Covenant, for Reformation, and Defence of Religion, &c. We noblemen, barons, knights, gentlemen, citizens, burgesses, ministers of the gospel, commons of all sorts in the kingdoms of Scotland, England and Ireland by the providence of God living under one king, and being of one reformed religion, having before our eyes the

deputy would endeavour to sanction his mal-administration, by a sub reptitious commendation; or that a house, so divided in blood, interest and religion, should be unanimous in protesting against their own act, if that eulogy were really their act. Independently of this strong probability, Strafford's correspondence with Charles evidently convicts him of high misdemeanors towards the Irish gentry. Charles had sense enough to perceive, and conscience enough to scruple, the iniquitous scheme of robbing gentlemen in Munster and Connaught, of estates, held by the most antient tenure in the world, long before charters and patents were invented, merely because they had no royal charter. Strafford encourages him to lay aside his remorse, promising to fill his coffers, raise a strong army

glory of God, and the advancement of the kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, the honour and happiness of the king's majesty, and his posterity, and the true publick liberty, safety, and peace of the kingdoms, wherein every ones private condition is included: and calling to mind the treacherous and bloody plots, conspiracies, attempts, and practices of the enemies of God, against the true religion, and professors thereof in all places, especially in these three kingdoms ever since the reformation of religion, and how much their rage, power and presumption, are of late, and at this time increased and exercised, whereof the deplorable estate of the church and kingdom of Ireland, the distressed estate of the church and kingdom of England, and the dangerous estate of the church and kingdom of Scotland, are present and publick testimonies. We have now at last (after other means of supplication, remonstrance, protestations and sufferings) for the preservation of ourselves and our religion from utter ruin and destruction, according to the commendable practice of these kingdoms in former times, and the

to defend him against his English and Scotch enemies, and take all the odium of the robbery on himself.

Besides the remote, preparatory foundations of discontent, laid by the two first kings of the Stuart line, in their perfidious plunder of Ulster, Connaught and Munster, other immediate causes were more effectually accessary in kindling the flames of war. The puritans knew, that the great majority of Ireland would, in the event of a rebellion, declare for the king, and early resolved to deprive him of that resource. Notwithstanding their affected contempt of the Irish, they knew and dreaded their bravery in the field, which their incessant importunity with the king, to disband Strafford's levy of eight or nine thousand men demonstrates. Argyle, leader of the covenanters,

example of God's people in other nations, after mature deliberation, resolved and determined to enter into a mutual and solemn league and covenant: wherein we all subscribe, and each one of us, for himself, with our hands lifted up to the most high God; do swear:

1st. That we shall sincerely, really and constantly, through the grace of God, endeavour in our several places and callings, the preservation of the reformed religion in the church of Scotland, in doctrine, worship, discipline and government according to the word of God, and the example of the best reformed churches. And shall endeavour to bring the churches of God in the three kingdoms to the nearest conjunction and uniformity in religion, confession of faith, form of church-government, directory for worship, and catechising: that we and our posterity after us may as brethren live in faith and love, and the Lord may delight to dwell in the midst of us.

2. That we shall in like manner without respect of persons endeavour the extirpation of popery, prelacy (that is, church-government, by arch-bishops, their chancellors and commis-

being asked, how they might prevail against the resources his majesty could draw from his other two kingdoms; replied, 'In England we have allies enough to balance his power. In Ireland, I shall kindle a spark, that can hardly, if ever, be extinguished.' Here he evidently alludes to his intrigues with the displanted Irish and Scots of Ulster. To give more effect to these intrigues, he entered into a treaty of marriage and alliance with the young O'Neil, earl of Tyrone, then residing at Brussels; a treaty broken off by the murder of that nobleman in his bed; whether contrived by the rebel or royal party, as yet remains a secret. The covenanters were strongly interested to promote insurrection in Ireland, and so deprive the king of the resources he could draw from the mistaken loyalty of that people.

saries, deans, deans and chapters, arch-deacons, and all other ecclesiastical officers depending on that hierarchy,) superstition, heresie, schism, profaneness, and whatsoever shall be found to be contrary to sound doctrine, and the power of godliness; lest we partake in other mens sins, and thereby be in danger to receive of their plagues; and that the Lord may be one, and his name one, in the three kingdoms.

3. We shall with the same sincerity, reality, and constancy, in our several vocations, endeavour with our estates and lives, mutually to preserve the rights and privileges of the parliament, and the liberties of the kingdoms, and to preserve and defend the king's majesty's person and authority, in the preservation and defence of the true religion, and liberties of the kingdoms; that the world may bear witness with our consciences of our loyalty, and that we have no thoughts or intentions to diminish his majesty's just power and greatness.

4. We shall also with all faithfulness endeavour the discovery of all such as have been or shall be incendiaries, malig-

The English commons infected the Irish commons, through their committee in London, with a portion of their democratic spirit, as Carte, Leland and Warner testify; and the dependents of puritans were employed as instruments to stir the northern Irish to revolt, and then betray them. What machinations were used by the Scotch and long parliament to foment the civil war, are but imperfectly recorded: yet it is visible from their declarations, their recorded transactions, and the result, that they did contrive and effectuate that great calamity. Their emissaries and agents gave it birth, nor would it have long survived or become general, were the flame not fanned by the detestable perfidy of the long parliament's creatures, the justices. The most authentic record of its commencement, hitherto published, is lord

nants, or evil instruments, by hindering the reformation of religion, dividing the king from his people, or one of the kingdoms from another, or making any faction or parties amongst the people, contrary to this league and covenant, that they may be brought to publick trial and receive condign punishment, as the degree of their offences shall require or deserve, or the supream judicatories of both kingdoms respectively, or others having power from them for that effect, shall judge convenient:

5. And whereas the happiness of a blessed peace between these kingdoms, denied in former times to our progenitors, is by the good providence of God granted unto us, and hath been lately concluded and settled by both parliaments, we shall each one of us, according to our place and interest, endeavour, that they may remain conjoined in a firm peace, and union, to all posterity: and that justice may be done upon the wilful opposers thereof, in manner expressed in the precedent article.

6. We shall also according to our places and callings, in

Macguire's narrative, acknowledged by him as true, before his execution.

“ Being in Dublin Candlemas-term last was twelvemonth—meaning February sixteen hundred forty one—the parliament then sitting, Mr. Roger Moore did write to me, desiring me if I could in that spare time I would come to his house (for then the parliament did nothing but sit and adjourn, expecting a commission for the continuance thereof, their former commission being expired) and that some things he had to say unto me that did nearly concern me: and on receipt of his letter, the new commission for continuing the parliament being landed, I did return him an answer that I could not fulfil his request for that present; and thereupon he himself came to town presently after, and sending to me I went to see

this common cause of religion, liberty, and peace of the kingdoms, assist and defend all those that enter into this league and covenant, in the maintaining thereof: and shall not suffer ourselves directly or indirectly by whatsoever combination, persuasion or terror, to be divided and withdrawn, from this blessed union and conjunction, whether to make defection to the contrary part, or to give ourselves to a detestable indifferency or neutrality in this cause, which so much concerneth the glory of God; the good of the kingdoms, and honour of the king; but shall all the days of our lives zealously and constantly continue therein against all lets and impediments whatsoever; and what we are not able ourselves to suppress or overcome, we shall reveal and make known, that it may be timely prevented or removed: all which we shall do as in the sight of God: and because these kingdoms are guilty of many sins and provocations against God, and his Son Jesus Christ, as it is too manifest by our present distresses and dangers the fruits thereof; we profess and declare before God and the world our unfeigned desire to be humbled

him at his lodging: and after some little time spent in salutations, he began to discourse of the many afflictions and sufferings of the natives of that kingdom, and particularly in those late times of my lord Strafford's government, which gave distaste to the whole kingdom: and then he began to particularize the suffering of them that were the more antient natives, as were the Irish; how that on several plantations they were all put out of their ancestors estates; all which sufferings, he said, did beget a general discontent through

for our own sins and for the sins of these kingdoms; especially that we have not as we ought valued the inestimable benefit of the gospel, that we have not laboured for the purity and power thereof, and that we have not endeavoured to receive Christ in our hearts, nor to walk worthy of him in our lives, which are the causes of other sins and transgressions so much abounding amongst us, and our true and unfeigned purpose, desire, and endeavour for ourselves and all other under our power and charge both in public and in private, in all duties we owe to God and man, to amend our lives and each one to go before another in the example of a real reformation that the Lord may turn away his wrath and heavy indignation, and establish these churches and kingdoms in truth and peace. And this covenant we make in the presence of Almighty God, the searcher of all hearts, with a true intention to perform the same, as we shall answer at that great day, when the secrets of all hearts shall be disclosed, most humbly beseeching the Lord to strengthen us by his holy spirit for this end, and to bless our desires and proceedings with success, as may be deliverance and safety to his people. Encouragement to other christian churches groaning under or in danger of the yoke of antichristian tyranny; to join in the same or like association and covenant to the glory of God, the enlargement of the kingdom of Jesus Christ, and the peace and tranquillity of christian kingdoms and commonwealths.

all the kingdom in both the natives, to wit, the old and new Irish: and that if the gentry of the kingdom, were disposed to free themselves furtherly from the like inconveniences, and get good conditions for themselves for regaining their ancestors estates, (or at least a good part thereof) they could never desire a more convenient time than that time, the distempers of Scotland being then on foot, and did ask me what I thought of it. I made him answer that I could not tell what to think of it, such matters being altogether out of my element. Then he would needs have an oath of me of secrecy, which I gave him; and thereupon he told me, that he had spoke to the best gentry of quality in Leinster, and a great part of Conaught, touching that matter; and he found all of them willing thereunto, if so be they could draw to them the gentry of Ulster, for which cause, said he, I came to speak to you. Then he began to lay down to me the case that I was in there, overwhelmed in debt, the smallness of my estate, and the greatness of the estate my ancestors had, and how I should be sure to get it again, or at least a good part thereof; and moreover how the welfare and maintaining of the Catholic religion, which, he said, undoubtedly the parliament now in England will suppress, doth depend on it. For, said he, it is to be feared, and so much I hear from every understanding man, the parliament intends the utter subversion of our religion; by which persuasions he obtained my consent; and so he demanded if any more of Ulster gentry were in town. I told him that Philip Reily,

Mr. Tirlogh O Neil, brother to Sir Phelim, and Mr. Macmahon were in town; so for that time we parted.

“ The next day he invited Mr. Reily and I to dine with him, and after dinner he sent for those other gentlemen Mr. O’Neil and Macmahon; and when they were come he began the discourse, formerly used to me, to them; and with the same persuasion, formerly used to me, he gained their consent: and then he began to discourse of the manner how it ought to be done, of the feasibility and easiness of the attempt, considering matters as they then stood in England, the troubles of Scotland, the great numbers of able men in the kingdom—meaning Ireland—what succours they were then more to hope for from abroad, and the army then raised, all Irishmen, and well armed; meaning the army raised by my lord Strafford against Scotland. First that every one should endeavour to draw his own friends into that act, and at least those that did live in one county with them; and when they had so done they should send to the Irish in the Low-Countries and Spain, to let them know of the day and resolution, so that they might be over with them by that day, or soon after, with supply of arms or ammunition as they could: that there should be a set day appointed, and every one in his own quarters should rise out that day and seize on all arms he could get in his county, and this day to be near winter, so that England could not be able to send forces into Ireland before May, and by that time there was

no doubt to be made but that they themselves should be supplied by the Irish beyond the seas, who could not miss of help, he said, from either Spain or the Pope; but that his resolutions were not in all things allowed. For first it was resolved nothing should be done, until they had sent over to the Irish over-seas to know their advice, and what hope of success they could give; for in them, as they said, all their hope of relief was, and they would have both their advice and resolution before any further proceedings, more than to speak and to try the gentlemen of the kingdom, every one as they could conveniently, to see (in case they would at any time grow to a resolution) what to be, and strength they must trust to. Then Mr. Moore told them that it was to no purpose to spend much time in speaking to the gentry; for there was no doubt to be made of the Irish that they would be ready at any time; and that all the doubt was in the gentry of the Pale, but he said that for his own part, he was really assured when they had risen out, the Pale gentry would not stay long after, at least that they would not oppose them in any thing but be neuters; and if in case they did, that they had men enough in the kingdom without them. Moreover he said he had spoke to a great man, who then should be nameless, that would not fail at the appointed day of rising out to appear and to be seen in the act, but that until then he was sworn not to reveal him; and that was all that was done at that meeting, only that Mr. Moore should the next lent following make

a journey down into the North to know what was done there, and that he also might inform them what he had done: and so on parting, Mr. Philip Reily and I did importune Mr. Moore for the knowledge of that great man that he spake of; and on long entreaty, after binding us to new secrecy not to discover him till the day should be appointed, he told that it was the lord of Mayo, who was very powerful in command of men in those parts of Connaught where he lived, and that there was no doubt to be made of him no more than was of himself; and so we parted.

“ The next lent following, Mr. Moore according to his promise came into Ulster, by reason it was the time of assizes in several counties. There he met only with Mr. Reily and nothing was then done, but all matters put off till May following, where we or most of us should meet at Dublin, it being both parliament and term time. In the mean time there landed one Neil O’Neil, sent by the earl of Tyrone out of Spain to speak with the gentry of his name and kindred; to let them know that he had treated with cardinal Richlieu for obtaining succour to come for Ireland, and that he prevailed with the cardinal so, that he was to have arms, ammunition and money, from him on demand to come for Ireland, and that he only expected a convenient time to come away; and to desire them to be in a readiness and to procure all others whom they could to be so likewise; which message did set on the proceedings very much, so that Mr. Moore, Mr. Reily, my brother, and I, meeting the next

May at Dublin, and the same messenger there too, it was resolved that he should return to the earl into Spain with their resolution; which was that they would rise out twelve or fourteen days before or after Allhallontide as they should see cause, and that he should not fail to be with them by that time. There was a report at that time, and before, that the earl of Tyrone was killed, which was not believed by reason of many such reports formerly which we found to be false; and so the messenger departed with directions, that if the earl's death were true he should repair into the Low-Countries to colonel Owen O Neil and acquaint him with his commission from the earl, whereof it was thought he was not ignorant, and to return an answer sent by him, and to see what he would advise or would do himself therein. But presently after his departure, the certainty of the earl's death was known; and on further resolution it was agreed, that an express messenger should be sent to the colonel, to make all the resolutions known to him, and to return speedily with his answer; and so one Toole O Conolly, a priest, (as I think parish priest to Mr. Moore) was sent away to colonel O Neil. In the interim there came several letters, and news, out of England to Dublin, of proclamations against the catholics in England, and also that the army raised in Ireland should be disbanded and conveyed into Scotland: and presently after, several colonels and captains landed with directions to carry away those men; amongst whom colohel Plupket, colonel Birne, and captain Brian O Neil

came, but did not come altogether; for Plunket landed before my coming out of town, and the other two after: wherein a great fear of suppressing of religion was conceived, and especially by the gentry of the pale; and it was very common amongst them that it would be very inconvenient to suffer so many men to be conveyed out of the kingdom: it being, as was said, very confidently reported that the Scottish army did threaten never to lay down arms until an uniformity of religion were in the three kingdoms, and the catholic religion suppressed: and thereupon both houses of parliament began to oppose their going, and the houses were divided in their opinions, some would have them go, others not; but what the definitive conclusion of the houses was touching the point I cannot tell: for by leave from the house of lords I departed into the country before the prorogation. But before my departure, I was informed by John Barnwell a friar, that those gentlemen of the Pale and some other members of the house of commons had several meetings and consultations how they might make stay of the soldiers in the kingdom, and likewise to arm them in defence of the King; being much injured both by England and Scotland then, as they were informed, and to prevent any attempts against religion: and presently after I departed into the country, and Mr. Reily being a member of the house of commons stayed the prorogation, and on his coming into the country sent to me to meet him, and I came to his house; where he told me that

he heard for certain that the former narration of Barnwell to me—for I did acquaint him with it—was true, and that he heard it from several there, and also that Ever Macmahon, made firmly privy to all our proceedings at Mr. Reily's, was lately come out of the Pale, where he met with the aforementioned John Barnwell who told him as much; and he formerly told me moreover that those colonels that lately came over did proffer their service and industry in that act, and so would raise their men under colour to convey them into Spain and then seize on the castle of Dublin, and with the arms there to arm their soldiers and have them ready for any occasion that should be commanded them; but that they had not concluded any thing because they were not assured how the gentlemen of the remote parts of the kingdom, and especially of Ulster, would stand affected to that act, and assurance of that doubt was all their impediment. Then we three began to think how we might assure them help and of the assistance of Ulster gentlemen. It was thought one should be sent to them to acquaint them therewith, and they made choice of me to come; by reason, as they said, that my wife was allied to them and their countrywoman, and would believe me and trust me sooner than other of their parts; they, or most of them, being of the Pale: and so, without as much as to return home to furnish myself for such a journey, "volens nolens" they prevailed, or rather forced me to come to Dublin to confer with those colonels, and that was the last August was twelvemonth.

“ Coming to town I met Sir James Dillon accidentally, before I came to my lodging, who was one of those colonels; and after salutations he demanded of me where my lodging was, which when I told him we parted. The next day being abroad about some other occasions in town, I met him, as he said, coming to wait on me in my chamber; but being a good way from it he desired me to go into his own chamber being near at hand; and then began to discourse of the present sufferings and afflictions of that kingdom, and particularly of religion, and how they were to expect no redress; the parliament in England intending, and the Scots resolving never to lay down arms until the catholic religion were suppressed. Then he likewise began to lay down what danger it would be to suffer so many able men as was to go with them to depart the kingdom at such a time: neither, said he, do their other gentlemen that are colonels and myself affect our own private profit so as to prefer it before the general good of the kingdom: and knowing you are well affected thereunto, and I hope, said he, ready to put your helping hand to it upon occasion, I will let you know the resolution of those other gentlemen and mine, which is, if we are ready [meaning the conspirators] to raise our men and after to seize on the castle, where there is great store of arms, and arm ourselves. This was the first motion that I ever heard of taking the castle; for it never came into our thoughts formerly, nor, I am persuaded, ever would, if it had not proceeded from those colonels who

were the first motioners and contrivers thereof, for ought known to me; and then to be ready to prevent and resist any danger that the gentlemen of the kingdom like thereof, and help us: for we of ourselves neither are able, nor will do any thing therein without their assistance. I began, according to the directions that were sent with me, to approve of their resolution, and also to let him know how sure he might be of the assistance of those of Ulster. Then he told me, that for my more satisfaction I should confer with the rest of the colonels themselves, as many as are privy to the action; and accordingly a place of meeting was appointed for that afternoon.

“ At the time and place appointed, there met Sir James himself, colonel Birne, and colonel Plunket; and that former discourse being renewed, they began to lay down the obstacles to that enterprise, and how they should be redressed. First, if there should war ensue, how there should be money had to pay to the soldiers. Secondly, how and where they should procure succours from foreign parts. Thirdly, how to draw in the Pale gentlemen. Fourthly, who should undertake to surprise the castle, and how it should be done. To the first it was answered, that the rents in the kingdom every where, not having respect whose they should be due, due to the lords and gentlemen thereof, should be collected to pay the soldiers: and moreover they might be sure, nay that there was no doubt thereof, to procure money from the pope, who gave several promises formerly to my lord of Tyrone—in case he could

make way to come into Ireland—to maintain six thousand men yearly at his own charge; and notwithstanding my lord of Tyrone was dead, yet that he would continue the same forwardness now. To the second it was answered by colonel Birne, that help from abroad could not fail them: for said he, colonel O'Neil told me that he had, or would procure in readiness—I do not remember which of those the colonel spake, or whether he spoke positive that colonel O Neil had arms, or would procure them—arms for ten thousand men, and moreover said he, I make no great question that if we send into Spain we shall not miss of aid; for I being in London the last year in the Scots troubles; I was in conference with one of the Spanish ambassadors then there, and taking of their troubles then a-foot, he said, that if the Irish did then rise too and send to Spain, their messengers would be received under canopies of gold. These last words he told me, and some one man of those that wese present privately, whose name I cannot call to mind; neither remember I whether he spoke to them all or no: then it was thought that when they were both in arms for the defence of the catholic cause, they would be succoured by the catholic princes of Christendom. [Here is an evident mistake in the copy, and the word “both” should be omitted, it being well known that the Scots were not in arms in defence of the catholic cause.] To the third it was answered by colonel Plunket, that he was as morally certain—for those were his words—as he could be of any thing, that the

Pale gentlemen would join with them and assist them. For he said, I have spoke to several of them since my landing in the kingdom, and I find them very ready and willing: and withal I have at London spoke to some of the committee, and particularly to my lord of Gormanston to let them know his resolution and they approved it very well.

“ All this was not done at the first meeting, but at three or four meetings; and so on the last meeting, it was resolved to the last doubt touching seizing the castle, that colonel Plunket and colonel Birn should undertake that task, because they were nearer to it than any other; and also seize on the forts, garrisons, and other places where they think any arms should be, and in particular Londonderry, which should be undertaken by those of Ulster; and then there was a set day appointed for execution thereof, that was the fifth of the ensuing October—this being the latter end of August, or the beginning of September sixteen hundred forty-one, I do not know whether—and every one should make provision to rise out that day. They were named that should first succour them that would take the castle with men presently, namely Sir James Dillon who did undertake to be with them within three, or at most, four days with a thousand men, and so much more should come to them out of the North. For these two colonels did not intend to use above an hundred men in the surprisal, whereof they were to have twenty good able gentlemen: for they made account that having

the castle, they with the artillery would master all the town until they were relieved by men from the country: and because there was a doubt how all this should be done in so short a time, they did appoint that all that were there present should not fail to meet there again the twentieth of September to give an account of all things, as well hopes as impediments; and if on that interview all things should happen to be well, they should go forward, or if otherwise to prolong the execution of it to a more convenient time; and so we parted, every man into the country about his own task.

“ In my way home I came to Mr. Reily’s house, and there I received a letter from Sir Phelim O’Neil, that his lady was dead and to be buried on the Sunday following—this being on the Saturday—and desiring me in all kindness to come to the burial: and Mr. Reily, having received another letter to the same effect, would needs have me go thither—whereunto I was very unwilling, being weary, and withal not provided to go to such a meeting—as well, he said, to prevent any jealousy from the lady’s friends, as also to confer with Sir Phelim touching all those proceedings. For neither he nor I spoke to Sir Phelim concerning the matter before, but to his brother Tirloch O’Neil: and coming thither we found captain Brian O’Neil lately come out of the Low-Countries, sent over by colonel O’Neil to speak to, and to provoke those of Ulster to rise out in arms, and that he would be with them on notice of their day, the same day or soon after it;

and it was asked of the said captain what aid he could send or procure, being but a private colonel, or where he could get any. He replied that the said colonel told him, that he had sent to several places that summer to demand aid, and in particular to cardinal Richlieu into France, to whom he had sent twice that year, and had comfortable and very hopeful promises from them, and especially from that cardinal, on whom he thought the colonel did most depend; so that there was no doubt to be made of succour from him; and especially when they had risen out that would be a means to the cardinal to give aid. We did the more credit him, in regard of the former treaty between the cardinal and the earl of Tyrone, as formerly is said. For my own part I did, and do believe, that the colonel doth depend on France for aid more than any other place, as well for those reasons, as also that Ever Macmahon, formerly mentioned, told me, that presently after the isle of Rhee's enterprise—he being then in the Low-Countries—did hear for certain, that the earl of Tyrone, together with the colonel, did send into France to the marshall of France that was general of the French forces at the isle of Rhee, to deal with him for procuring of aid to come then for Ireland; and that he received an answer from the said marshall, that he was most willing and ready to contribute his endeavours for his furtherance therein; but that he could not for the present answer my lord's expectations, by reason that the king had wars in Italy, which he thought would be at an

end in half a year or little more, and then my lord should not doubt of any thing he could do for his assistance: but these continued a great deal longer; so for that time the enterprise failed. After the burial was done, I gave those gentlemen knowledge of what I had done at Dublin, and how I was to retire thither; and then they began to think how they should surprise Londonderry, they being near it, but could not then agree in the manner; and so Sir Phelim desired me to take his house in my way going to Dublin, and that I should have a resolution to carry with me touching Londonderry; and thereupon I parted home.

“ Soon after I came to Dublin to the fore-appointed meeting of those colonels; but first I took in my way Sir Phelim O Neil’s house, to be certain what he had done; and his answer was, that he knew that matter could not be put in execution by the fifth of October as was appointed, and that they would make another longer day for it, and he would provide for the taking of Londonderry by that day; and so I came to Dublin to give an account of that was done, and also know what further should be done. I was not two hours in my lodging when Mr. Moore came to me, who knew what was done by those colonels formerly from colonel Birn; and told me that the messenger sent to colonel O Neil was come with an answer, desiring us not to delay any time in rising out, and to let him know of that day before hand, and that he would not fail to be with us within fourteen days

of that day with good aid; also desiring us by any means to seize the castle of Dublin if we could, for he heard that there was great provision in it for war: and Mr. Moore moreover said, that that time was not to be over-slipped, and desired me to be very pressing with the colonels to go in their resolution. But on meeting with the colonels, they were fallen from their resolution, because those of the Pale would do nothing therein first; but when it was done, they would not fail to assist us, as colonel Plunket did affirm: and so by several meetings, it was resolved on by them to desist from that enterprise for that time, and to expect a more convenient time. But before that their resolution, Sir Phe-
lim O Neil, and the aforesaid captain Brian O Neil followed me to Dublin to assist, as they said, and advise me how to proceed with that colonel; but neither they nor Mr. Moore would be seen therein themselves to those gentlemen, but would meet me privately and know what was done at every meeting; alledging for excuse, that I being first employed in that matter, it would not be expedient that they should be seen in it. Moreover they would not be known to be in town but by a few of their friends, until they were in a manner ready to depart the town; at least as long as I was in town, for I left them there. But when I made them acquainted with their determination of desisting from that enterprise, they thought it convenient we should meet with Mr. Moore and colonel Birn to see what was further to be done concerning the further inten-

tion of their own, and according we did send to them that they should meet us; and on that meeting it was, where was only Sir Phelim, Mr. Moore, colonel Birn, captain Neil, and myself. After long debate it was resolved, that we with all those that were of our faction should go on with that determination that was formerly made, and concluded to rise out: moreover to seize on the castle as the colonels were purposed; for if it were not for their project and the advice sent by colonel Neil we would never venture to surprise it: neither was it ever thought on in all the meetings and resolutions between us before those colonels did resolve on it; but by reason that the other gentlemen that were privy to those proceedings were not present, the certainty of the time and the manner how to execute it, was put off to a further meeting in the country; and this was resolved in Dublin upon the Sunday at night, being the twenty-sixth or twenty-seventh of September, and the meeting was appointed on the Saturday following at Macalloe, Macmahon's house in Farney in the county of Monaghan: and thereupon we all left the town; only Sir Phelim staid about some other his private occasions, but did assure his being there at that day; and by reason that at that meeting the gentry of Leinster could not be, considering the remoteness of the place from them, it was thought fit that Mr. Moore should there meet to receive the final resolution and should acquaint them therewith; and in the mean time colonel Birn, who had undertaken for colonel Plunket, should inform

them of all the intention conceived, and dispose them in readiness against that day that should be appointed."

"On Saturday I came to Mr. Macmahon's house; there met only Mr. Macmahon himself, captain Neil, Ever Macmahon, and myself: and thither that same day came the messenger that was sent to colonel Neil, and did report the colonel's answer and advice "verbatim," as I have formerly repeated from Mr. Moore; and by reason that Sir Phelim, his brother, or Mr. Philip Reily that were desired to meet, did not meet, we staid that night to expect them; and that night I received a letter from Sir Phelim, intreating us by any means not to expect him till the Monday following, for he had not, nor could dispatch some occasions nearly concerning him, but whatever became of them he would not fail on the Monday: on the next day after receipt of the letter, being Sunday, by Mr. Moore's advice we departed from colonel Macmahon's house, to prevent, as he said, the suspicion of the English there,—many living near—to Loghrosse in the county of Ardmagh to Mr. Tirloch O Neil's house—not Sir Phelim's brother but son to Mr. Henry O Neil of the Fewes, son-in-law to Mr. Moore—and left word, that if Sir Phelim, or any of those gentlemen did come in the mean time, they should follow us thither; whither only went Mr. Moore, captain O Neil, and myself, and therewe expected them until the Tuesday subsequent before any of those did come. On the Tuesday came Sir Phelim, and Ever Mac-

mahon; all the rest failing to come. Mr. Macmahon's wife was dead the night before, which was the cause he was not there; but I gave his assent to what should be concluded to therein and to execute what should be appointed him: And then we five, viz. Sir Phelim, Mr. Moore, captain O Neil, Ever Macmahon, and myself, assuring ourselves that those gentlemen absent should both allow and join to what we should determine, did grow into a final resolution, grounding all or most part of our hope and confidence on the succours from colonel O Neil, to seize on the castle, and rise out all in one day; and the day was appointed on the twenty third of that month, this being the fifth day of October: having regard therein to the day of the week whereon that day did fall, which was the Saturday being the market-day; on which day there would be less notice of people up and down the streets. Then began a question who should be deputed for the surprisal of the castle; and then Mr. Moore said he would be one of them himself, and that colonel Birn should be another, and what other gentlemen of Leinster they could procure to join with them: and seeing the castle had two gates, the one the great, the other the little gate going down to my lord lieutenant's stables—hard by which stables without the castle was the store-house for arms—they of Leinster would undertake one gate, and that should be the little gate; and the great gate should be undertaken by those of Ulster, and said he, of necessity one of you both—meaning Sir Phelim and

me—must be there for the mere countenance of the matter, it being the glory of all our proceedings; and all that his speech was well liked of all present. But Sir Phelim would be exempted from that employment, and so would I; but then all of them set on me desiring me to be one, alledging for reason that their proceedings and resolutions were very honourable and glorious, it being for religion, and for to procure more liberty for their country, as did, said they, of late Scotland; and that in taking the castle consisted all the glory and honour of the said act: all which should be attributed to them which should be employed therein; and so by consequence all, or most part to be there, being, as they said, the chief in that enterprise: and more Sir Phelim said, that he would endeavour to take, or procure others to take Londonderry the same day, and if he should be away that place would not be taken. With these, and many other persuasions, they obtained my consent, and then the captain offered himself. They began to think what number should be employed in that act, and they concluded on two hundred men, one hundred from each province, for those gates which they were to seize on; of which number Sir Phelim O Neil should send forty, with an able sufficient gentleman to conduct them, and likewise captain Neil twenty, Mr. Macmahon, Mr. Reily, ten more, and I should bring twenty two. Then began a doubt how they should raise those men and convey them to Dublin without suspicion; and it was answered, that under pre-

^tence of carrying them to those colonels that were conveying soldiers out of the kingdom, [the copy says, "into," but it is evidently a mistake] it might safely be done: and to that purpose Sir Phelim O Neil, Mr. Moore, and the captain had several blank patents with deputations to make captains to those colonels, which they sent to those that should send men to Dublin. For the more colour, they bethought of what was to be done in the country that day; and it was resolved that every one privy to that matter in every part of the kingdom, should rise up that day and seize on all the forts and arms in several counties, to make all the gentry prisoners, the more to assure themselves against any adverse fortune, and not to kill any but where of necessity they must be forced thereunto by opposition—and that those that were appointed for taking of the castle should observe—and in particular the gentry. All their army in Ulster were to take that day Londonderry, which Sir Phelim did undertake, and Knockfergus, which they thought Sir Henry Mac O Neil would do; and to that end Sir Phelim's brother Tirlogh O Neil should be sent to them; and the Newry which should be undertaken by Sir Conn Maggennis and his brothers, for whom Sir Phelim, in regard they were his brothers-in-law—his deceased lady being their sister—did undertake. Moreover it was agreed, that Sir Phelim, Mr. Reily, Mr. Macmahon, and my brother, should with all the speed they could after that day raise all the forces they could and follow us to Dublin; but

to arm the men, and succour and attend, and garrison the town and castle: and likewise Mr. Moore should appoint Leinster gentlemen to send like supply of men; then there was fear of the Scots conceived, that they should personally oppose themselves, and that would make the matter more difficult; and to avoid which danger it was resolved on not to meddle with them or any thing belonging to them, and to demean themselves towards them, as if they were of themselves, which they thought would pacify them from any opposition: and if the Scots would not accept of that offer of amity but would oppose them, they were in good hope to cause a stir in Scotland that might divert them from them; and I believe the ground for that hope was, that two years before, in or about the beginning of the Scots troubles, my Lord of Tyrone sent one Tirlogh O Neil, a priest, out of Spain (and that this I take it was the time that he was in treaty with Cardinal Richlieu) to my lord of Argyle, to treat with him for help from my lord for him to come into Ireland, as was said, for marriage between the said earl and my lord of Argyle's daughter, or sister—I know not which;—and this messenger was in Ireland, with whom Mr. Tirlogh O Neil Sir Phelim's brother, had conference; from whom this relation was had. That said messenger went into Scotland, as I did hear from the said Mr. Neil, or from Ever Macmahon aforementioned, I know not from which of them; but what he did there I could never hear, by reason that my lord of Tyrone was

presently after killed. They were the more confirmed therein, hearing that my lord of Argyle did say—near to the same time as I guess, and when the army was raised in Ireland, as I think—to a great lady in Scotland—I know not her name, but did hear that she was much embarked in the troubles of that kingdom, and she questioning how they could subsist against the two kingdoms of England and Ireland—that if the king did endeavour to stir Ireland against them, he would kindle such a fire in Ireland as would hardly or never be quenched: and moreover they knew my lord to be powerful with the Highlanders, Redshanks in Scotland, whom they thought would be prone and ready to such actions; they for the most part descending out of Ireland, holding the Irish language and manners still; and so we parted.

“ The next day being Wednesday, from Logh-rosse every man went about his own task; and so when I came home I acquainted my brother with all that was done, and what they had appointed him to do; and did like according as they had appointed me send to Mr. Reily to let him know as much, and the eighteenth of the same month I began my journey to Dublin: and when I came to Dublin—being the day-before the appointed day for putting that resolution into execution there—I met with captain Con O Neil, sent out of the Low-countries by colonel O Neil, who was sent, after the messenger sent by us formerly to the said colonel was by him disappointed of his answer, to encourage us in our

resolution and to speedy performance, with assurance of succour; which he said would not fail of the colonel's behalf: and for the more certainty of help from him, and to assure us that the colonel had good hopes to procure aid from others, he said that it was he himself that was employed from him to cardinal Richlieu twice; that some men gave fair promises to assure the colonel's expectations, with which he said that the said colonel was really assured with himself of the cardinal's aid; and that he was likewise commanded by the colonel, upon our resolution of the day, to give notice thereof to him, and that he would be within fourteen days over with them with aid: but he landed nine or ten days before, and meeting with captain Brian O Neil, who made him acquainted with what was resolved, he did write all the matter to colonel O Neil, so as he was sure of his speedy coming; and so he and I came to meet the other gentlemen: and there were met Mr. Moore, colonel Birn, colonel Plunket, captain Fox, and other Leinster gentlemen, a captain I think of the Birn's—but I am not sure whether a Birn or a Toole—and captain Brian O Neil; and taking an account of those that should have been there, it was found that Sir Phelim O Neil, and Mr. col. Macmahon did fail of sending their men; and colonel Birn did miss Sir Morgan Cavenagh that had promised him to be there, but he said he was sure he would not fail to be that night or the next morning in town: and of the two hundred men there were only eighty present; yet not-

withstanding they were resolved to go on in their resolution, and all the difference was, at what time of the day they would set on the castle; and after some debate it was resolved in the afternoon; for they said, if they should take the castle, and be enforced by any extremity for not receiving timely succour out of the country, having them they could not want; and so parted that night, but to meet in the morning to see what was further to be done: and immediately thereupon I came to my chamber, and about nine o'clock Mr. Moore and captain Fox came to me, and told me all was discovered, and that the city were in arms and the gates were shut up; and so departed from me: and what became of them and the rest I know not, nor think but they escaped; but how, and what time, I do not know, because I myself was taken that morning."

From this narrative it appears, that few were in the secret of the conspiracy; and that, relying on the discontents of the vast numbers dispossessed of their lands, persecuted for their religion, and not allowed even as tenants on their own estates, they thought their appearance in arms would draw a sufficient number of followers. It appears, also, that Owen O'Conolly, the informer, was entrusted with the secret, and was in company with Mac Mahon, on the eve of the attempt on the castle, when he made the discovery of the attempt. But the relation of party historians, on this subject, will not easily be followed by any dispassioned reader. Warner says,

that Owen O'Conolly, a gentleman of the old Irish stock, bred a PROTESTANT, was made privy to the secrets of a great and general plot, by which all PROTESTANTS were to be dispossessed, or cut off, and that on the eve of its execution! Gentleman O'Conolly was servant to Sir John Clotworthy, a worthy trustee of the long-parliament, a puritan, who attended at lord Macguire's trial, and Conolly was not bred, but became a protestant. It is therefore highly improbable, had he not been before in the secret, that he would then become acquainted with it, when so little time remained to know his dispositions, talents, or the services he could perform. But if we argue from facts, it is certain, that government had information of the conspiracy from the king, when in Scotland, where it was no secret, on account of the part acted by the leading covenanters in fomenting it; and from Sir William Cole, who, by letters and in person, gave several particulars concerning the same. It is therefore very likely, that the informer was sent, well instructed, to volunteer among them, rip up his pedigree, complain of grievances, vow revenge, and thus gain their confidence; an artifice, easier played on men, heated by zeal, and so convinced of the justice of their cause, that warmth of hypocritical professions gain upon them. Such artifices were practised on the United men, in our own memory; and the pretended surprize, at the discovery of the plot, is exactly of a piece with the surprize of James and Cecil at the discovery of the gun-powder, hid,

by their own order, under the parliament-house. " Roger Moore was at the head of a once powerful Irish family of Leinster. His ancestors, in the reign of Mary, had been expelled from their princely possessions, by violence and fraud ; and their sept harassed and almost extirpated by military execution. Their remains were distinguished by an hereditary hatred of the English, which O'Moore of queen Elizabeth's reign, expressed by the violence and obstinacy of his hostilities. The resentment of Roger was equally determined, irritated, as he was, by the sufferings of his ancestors, his own indigence and depression, and the mortifying view of what he called his rightful inheritance possessed by strangers, rioting in the spoils of his family. But his conduct was cautious and deliberate ; for he had judgment, penetration, and a refinement of manners unknown to his predecessors. He was allied by intermarriages to several of the old English, and lived in intimacy with the most civilized and noblest of their race. Some part of his youth had been spent on the continent, where his manners were still further polished, and his hatred of the English power confirmed, by an intercourse with his exiled countrymen. He attached himself particularly to the son of the rebel earl of Tirone, who had obtained a regiment in Spain, and who was caressed at the court. It was natural for such companions to dwell on the calamities of their fathers, their brave efforts in the cause of their countrymen, and the hopes of still reviving the antient splendour of their families. With

such men, in such a place, an aversion to that power, which had subverted all the old establishments in Ireland was heroic patriotism. The spirit of Moore was on fire. He vowed to make one brave effort for the restoration of his brethren, was applauded by his associate, and returned to Ireland, totally engaged by the bold design.

“ From the moment that the idea had first dawned in his mind, Moore wisely contrived by every possible means to conciliate the esteem and affection of the native Irish: he had the qualities most effectual for this purpose; a person remarkably graceful, an aspect of dignity, a courteous and insinuating address, a quick discernment of men’s characters, and a pliancy in adapting himself to their sentiments and passions. The old Irish beheld the gallant representative of one of their distinguished families, with an extravagance of rapture and affection; they regarded him as their glory and their protection; they celebrated him in their songs; and it became a proverbial expression, that their dependance was on God, our Lady, and Roger Moore.

“ He proceeded to practise cautiously with his friends and kinsmen, and by fomenting their discontents and alarming their fears, to lead them gradually into his design. Among these was Richard Plunket, younger son of that Sir Christopher Plunket, who, in the government of Chichester, was a distinguished leader of opposition in the Irish parliament; a man well descended and allied. He had been bred in England, obtained military command in Flanders, was distinguished

and advanced; he had a politeness which recommended him to his numerous connections, and a plausibility which enabled him to influence and govern them. Vain in his temper, indigent in his fortune, and bigoted in religion, he was a fit instrument for Moore. The artful conspirator exaggerated the insults which the whole nation had sustained from the oppressive government of Strafford, enumerated all the public grievances, lamented the tedious and ineffectual measures taken for redress, extolled the gallantry of the Scots, who had at once established their religion and liberties, condemned the supineness of his own countrymen, who instead of making a brave effort worthy of their valour, at a juncture the most favourable to such a purpose, waited with submission, until the puritanic party of England and Scotland should utterly extirpate the Roman catholic religion from every quarter of the king's dominions. Such suggestions had an instant effect on the mind of Plunket; he resigned himself to the direction of his kinsman, and became an active agent in his conspiracy.

“No great difficulty was apprehended in gaining the leaders of the Ulster Irish, who had been so severely chastised by the arms of Elizabeth, and so grievously despoiled by the plantations of James.—Of these, Moore first applied to Connor Macguire, baron of Inniskillen. This lord was regarded as chieftain, by the remains of his sept still left in the county of Fermanagh. His ancestor had forfeited in the rebellion of Tirone: part of the forfeited lands had been res-

tored to his grand-father for good services, and descended to the present lord, a youth of mean understanding, and a licentious and expensive life, already overwhelmed with debts, proud, and impatient of his distress. Moore reminded him of the antient affluence and splendour of his family, pathetically lamented his present difficulties, inveighed against that power which had despoiled the old and rightful possessors of the island, and planted a race of aliens and foreigners on their patrimony. The English government, he observed, was now become universally odious; that all the old inhabitants of Ireland, as well of the English as Irish race, were impatient of their numerous oppressions; and surely no juncture could be more favourable than the present, for a brave attempt to assert their liberties and regain their inheritance. When such general intimations proved insufficient, he demanded an oath of secrecy from Maguire; and under this seal assured him that he had conferred with several of the best quality in Leinster, as well as with numbers in Connaught, on the scheme of a general insurrection; that he found them ready to engage, provided the Irish of Ulster would unite in the design; a design which would restore him to the possessions, and establish the religion of his ancestors, unless he should meanly submit to his present distress, and suffer the English parliament to extend their persecution of the catholics into Ireland, and exterminate every professor of the Roman faith. His artifice at length pre-

vailed; and with still greater ease, he wrought to his purpose three other Irishmen of the northern province, Mac-Mahon, Philip Reily, and Terlagh, brother of Sir Phelim O'Nial the most considerable of his name and lineage now resident in Ulster.

“ In his conferences with these new associates, he observed, that a general insurrection might be easily effected, in the present disordered state of England and Scotland, and when such numbers of their kinsmen and followers were in arms, and would gladly revolt to their natural leaders; that the time of execution should be chosen at the approach of winter, when no succours could be sent from England; that each should practice with his own friends; and as there was no doubt of receiving aid from abroad, they should notify their resolutions to the Irish on the continent. The northern conspirators cautiously insisted on the necessity of being fully and particularly assured of foreign succours before any measures should be hazarded on their part, except that of sounding the dispositions of their countrymen. Moore, who was impatient of delay, laboured to convince them of the futility of a tedious application to individuals, all friends to their design, and ready to rise in arms on the first alarm. Even the inhabitants of the Pale, he observed, would readily follow the example of the native Irish, or at least would stand neuter in the public commotion; that the scheme had been already communicated to several persons of power; that one leader was engaged who could command an

extensive district; and when urgently pressed to declare him, he named lord Mayo, descended from a branch of the degenerate De Burghs, and of an extensive following in the western province.”*

Allowing the causes and promoters of insurrection, thus detailed, we must agree with Charles, that they were inadequate to produce a general conspiracy; and that a partial one would soon be suppressed, if his orders had been obeyed.

The success of the Scotch, in overthrowing episcopacy, in their irruption into England,† where they were rewarded for their rebellion, and dictated to their sovereign, “seemed to reproach the supineness of their neighbours, and to challenge them to a bold emulation of their conduct. If the Scots were suffered to establish a new religion, the Irish deemed it more meritorious, and less offensive, to labour for the restoration of an ancient model; if the Scots complained of temporal grievances, those of the Irish were more afflicting; if the valour of the Scots had extorted the amplest concessions, it was shameful for the Irish to resign the palm of valour.”‡ Yes. But the generality of the Irish abhorred their rebellion and principles.

“The spirits of the malecontents, even of those not actually engaged in the conspiracy, were still further enflamed by new intelligence received about this time, of terrible proclamations issued

* Leland, Vol. III. B. V. c. iii. p. 97.

† See ut supra, p. 426, &c.

‡ Leland, Vol. III. B. V. c. iii. p. 92.

against the catholics of England, and the denunciations of the Scots against all of their communion. Fears of extirpation by the fanatic fury of the puritans, were seriously conceived by some, and affected and propagated by the more designing. They possessed men's minds with the imagination of a Scottish army, in all the phrensy of religious zeal, ready to land on the Irish shores, and to persecute the Romanists with sword and fire. Even the loyal catholics were alarmed at the thoughts of sending the disbanded Irish army into foreign service, when the regal authority, as well as their religion, was in danger."*

That is coming near the point. The covenanters, in England, Ireland and Scotland, were principally instrumental in exciting this insurrection. To this tended, the furious denunciations of the English parliament against popery and papists: the cruelties practised on several of that persuasion, lay and ecclesiastical: the extravagant rumours of dangerous machinations, formed by Jesuits and other papists; such as, blowing up the Thames, and eight hundred Jesuits intending to come on dromedaries, and take London by surprise, &c.† Certainly, the rebel parliament, which had staked all on the overthrow of the monarchy and the monarch, had the greatest interest to deprive him of every resource from Ireland, the only one of his kingdoms which, though worse and inhumanly treated by his father and himself, was known to be most loyal to

* Leland, Vol. III. B. V. c. iii. p. 98.

† See ut supra, pp. 413, 416, 440, 447, 448, 459, 473.

him. No method of effecting this was neglected by them. First, they procured the government of Ireland for Parsons and Borlase, two of their creatures, entirely devoted to them. " Sir Wm. Parsons, the first in the commission, and the most active in the exercise of the government, was an Englishman of mean extraction; and reading and writing was all the learning he had. With these qualifications, and about forty pounds in money, he went over to Ireland to seek his fortune. He began the world in that country in the service of the escheater general; and being of a plodding indefatigable genius, and much addicted to avarice, he was so good a proficient in the arts of making the most of his employment—which is no difficult matter for a man of indifferent parts to do, in an employment which gives opportunity, and when he is not troubled with scruples about the ways of getting it—he soon grew rich. After this he married a niece of the surveyor general; and being employed under him in that post, upon his uncle's resignation succeeded him in it. At the death of his uncle, he obtained another place which he held as commissioner of the revenue; and to this was added in a short time after, the place of a commissioner of the lands escheated or vested in the crown; by which he procured eighteen hundred acres in the province of Ulster to be allotted him. Thus having the sole care of the admeasurement of the lands as surveyor general, and as commissioner a great influence in the disposal of them, here was a fair opportunity for such a man to amass an immense fortune; and

he did not miss it. Though great complaints were made against him with too much reason in both these respects, yet he had the art or the good fortune by making his court to Buckingham the favourite, at the expence of other ministers, to retain his post of surveyor general, and to be master of the court of wards; of which he had been the projector. In this employment he acquired new grants of lands and manors to a very considerable amount; which had made him very obnoxious to all the Irish, and not a little disliked by the rest of the people. He had in his early days imbibed the sentiments of the Puritans; and had all that gravity in his exterior which is often mistaken for true wisdom, of which it is only the semblance. Though he owed the posts which had enabled him to amass his riches, and the grants of his estate, to the king's bounty, yet being still as selfish and greedy of wealth as ever, and finding that his majesty's power was sunk in that of the parliament, he struck into their measures, and by their recommendation was made one of the lords justices.

“ Sir John Borlase had been bred a soldier in the wars of the Low-Countries at the beginning of that century; and was a man of a quiet, easy nature, of no extraordinary parts, but honest, open, and without design. His behaviour in the commands which had been entrusted to him had been unexceptionable; and he had acquired a good share of reputation for his military skill. Therefore when he returned home to Ireland, he was thought a proper man to keep up the disci-

pline of that army; was preferred to a company of foot and a troop of horse; and made master general of the ordnance. Avarice was not his vice; and having made no great profit by his commissions, his fortune was very moderate. The genius that he had was wholly confined to his profession of arms; and when he was made a lord justice, he was grown old, indolent, and inactive; giving himself little trouble about the exercise of his power, and leaving all to the management of his colleague.

This appointment, together with the character of Parsons, explains the extraordinary conduct of the justices, on receiving the information, and during the rebellion.*

The breaking out of the insurrection was a complete triumph to the English rebels. The horrors they had so industriously propagated, of popish plots and massacres, seemed to be realized. The king, partly to evade the imputation, charged on him by his enemies, of participating in, and commissioning by his authority, the Irish revolt; partly, by reason of the poverty in which he was kept by his rebel parliament, surrendered to it the prosecution of the war; and with it, of course, the executive government of Ireland. Of these powers they availed themselves to raise men and money, nominally for the service of Ireland, but in reality to fight against their sovereign, which they shortly after put in execution. Warner furnishes a number of facts, whose force he vainly

* See ut supra, p. 454.

endeavours to elude. Leland, more candid, acknowledges the treason of the parliament, and their representatives, Parsons and Borlase, in fomenting the Irish insurrection. For, though the leading covenanters were busy in contriving and stirring it up, the latter must, of course, be well apprized of the design, beside information from the king, from Vane and Cole, "yet even to this moment the chief governors of Ireland seemed to sleep in full security. The temper and principles of Parsons, the progress of his fortune, and the measures he had already taken to advance it, made it by no means incredible that he might artfully connive at a wild scheme of rebellion, to enrich his coffers by new forfeitures. His known attachment to the popular party of England, might also have given him some degree of secret satisfaction in a public commotion, which would prove embarrassing to the crown. However this may be, both the lords justices were equally deficient in their vigilance and their affection to the king."*

The Irish insurrection was but a part of the revolutionary scheme, formed in England and Scotland, by the puritans. This is the master-key to the proceedings of the party in both islands. The furious denunciations against popery, contained in the solemn league and covenant, in sundry acts of parliament, and in fanatical petitions to parliament, for the extermination of papists, encouraged, pompously received and

* See *ut supra*, p. 454.

published, torture and death inflicted on many professors of that religion, were all directed to that end. It is difficult to conceive, that any persons, calling on the name of Christ, and not quite insane, would seriously intend the diabolical project of exterminating a nation, for religious opinions; but all these threats, alarms, and false rumours of fictitious plots, however ridiculous, were among the revolutionary schemes of working up the many-headed hydra to the utmost fury. It was deemed necessary to fanaticize the public, to prepare for great changes in church and state; and the hue-and-cry against popery, involving the established prelacy, partly, through the affinity of the two churches, partly, through the imprudence of Charles and Laud, was a potent engine, to work on minds, ignorant and credulous, especially to tales of malignity. The Bible and the Spirit, canting, hypocrisy and fanaticism, were, to the English democrats of the seventeenth century, what the age of reason and infidelity were, to the French democrats of the eighteenth. The means different, for a similar object; as a revolution of opinion must precede a revolution in the state.

Such was the plan for revolutionizing England, and depriving the king of the resources of Ireland; which, without an Irish rebellion, could not be done. It was evident, that, if Ireland were tranquil, when the covenanters went to war with Charles, the Irish would join the banners of their sovereign, and, in all probability, turn the scales against the rebels. To avert such

a calamity, they took very effectual measures. By kindling an insurrection in Ireland, and getting the executive power thereof, they fought the king of Ireland by his own authority, and by soldiers fighting under his own banners. This treacherous plan was so faithfully adhered to, by the justices and Ormond, creatures of the rebel parliament, that all the endeavours of the king and his Irish subjects, to come to an accommodation, were frustrated, until both were ruined.

This is the clue to all the manœuvres of the democrats.* Another method of spreading alarm was, the assassination of catholic clergymen; as the flock must needs abhor and dread the murderers of the shepherd. " For, not to mention the lords justices, cruel injunctions to the officers of the army, to shew no mercy to that order of men, (whom, therefore, these officers promiscuously murdered, wherever they met them,) " the English house of commons gave them reason to apprehend every thing that is dreadful to human nature†... When men have every thing to dread in peace, and much to hope from a war,

* See ut supra, p. 486.

† To this his majesty seems to have alluded, when he said, and certainly it is thought by many wise men, that the preposterous rigor and unreasonable severity, which some men carried before them in England, was not the least incentive that kindled and blew into those horrid flames the sparks of discontent, which wanted not pre-disposed fuel for rebellion in Ireland; where despair being added to their former discontents, and the fears of utter extirpation to their wonted oppressions, it was easy to provoke them to open rebellion.—Eikon Bas,

it is natural for them to chuse the latter, and use their utmost endeavours to make it successful. Nor is it any wonder that those priests, in such a situation of affairs, should have recourse to arms, for the safety of their lives: and despairing of indulgence in quiet times, should seek in troublesome ones for an establishment, never to be obtained but by the prevailing force of an insurrection."* "The condition of a missionary, in the beginning of this reign, was different from what it was at the latter end of it; when religious zeal against popery was heightened and inflamed with all the rage of faction. If a Turkish der-vise had then preached Mahomet in England, he would have met much better treatment than a popish priest."† A third method of extending the insurrection, consisted in the false and fraudulent impeachment of all Irish catholics, published by proclamation. On the 23dth of October, 1641, the lords justices declared by proclamation, "that a discovery had been made of a most disloyal and detestable conspiracy intended by some evil affected Irish papists, universally throughout the kingdom;" which gave a just

* Carte's Life of Ormond.

† Grainger's Biogr. Hist. of England, Vol. II. p. 206.

‡ This day was commonly called Macguire's day, because Lord Macguire was a principal leader in the insurrection which commenced on it; and yet we find by the journals of the Irish commons, that one of the first private discoverers of it to Sir William Cole, was one Bryan Macguire, (probably his lordship's relation,) for which service, said Bryan's grandson, Connaght Maguire, in 1662, obtained a grant of his grandfather's estate.

alarm to the catholic nobility and gentry of the kingdom, who knew themselves to be perfectly innocent, and entirely unconscious, of any such conspiracy. The earl of Clanrickard, who had arrived in Ireland some short time before, tells us, that he "was at first, on a sudden, surprised with the fatal news of a desperate rebellion in the North, and a rumour of a general combination and conspiracy all over the kingdom. But we begin to recover our wits, scared away by the first reports; and do discern, that none appears in this detestable conspiracy, or enters into action, but the remains of the antient Irish rebels in the North, and some of the planted county of Leitrim."*

The rebellion furnished the English rebels with further weapons against his majesty; first, by calumniating him, as authorizing it, even after he had, in order to clear himself from the foul charge, surrendered the management of the Irish war and executive into their hands. Secondly, by fanaticizing the multitude, with hideous tales of massacres, committed on protestants by Irish papists; and an avowed intention of massacring every British man, woman and child. To gain greater credit for these falsehoods, they were communicated to the English commons by the earl of Leicester, lord lieutenant, the lord keeper, &c. Though these scandalous fictions had their day, and executed their mischief, their falsehood is so notorious, as to be owned by writers otherwise prejudiced.

* Clarendon's Memoirs.

“ Both the lord keeper in the house of lords, and the lord lieutenant in the house of commons, did exceed the informations that had been given, either in the letters, or in the examinations transmitted over. No historian hath taken notice of this falsification: and yet one cannot believe that it was owing in both these lords to accident or mistake. The lord keeper hath said, that the rebels had committed divers murders; and the lord lieutenant, besides affirming that they had information of shedding much blood of the protestants there, added moreover, that the design of the rebels was to kill the lords justices, and all the king’s privy-council; whereas neither in the letters, nor the examinations, is there a single word of any murder being committed; nor was there the least thought among the conspirators, for any thing that appears, of killing, particularly, the lords justices and the king’s privy-council. And the council in their letters, after having given an account of several robberies, burning of houses and villages, and seizing some forts and castles, expressly say, and this, though too much, is all that we yet hear is done by them.”*

“ It is worthy of notice, that about this time, viz. before the end of October, 1641, Temple himself confesses, “ that the rebels had got possession of all the towns, forts, castles, and gentlemen’s houses within the counties of Tyrone, Donegal, Fermanagh, Armagh, Cavan, Londonderry, Monaghan, and half the county of Down;

* Warner’s History of the Rebellion.

except the cities of Londonderry and Colerain, the town and castle of Enniskillen, and some other places and castles. And that besides the above-mentioned, these rebels had taken a multitude of other castles, houses of strength, towns and villages, all abundantly peopled with British inhabitants."* Yet in none of those places does it appear, from Temple's account, that any massacre or murder was committed by the insurgents within that space of time.

If men of the first quality could, in both houses of parliament, for the evil purposes of faction, circulate shocking lies, what stress is to be laid on the evidences of the meaner sort, influenced by prejudice, revenge, exasperated by suffering, bewildered by reports, or looking for compensation? Yet such are the only testimonies of the Irish massacre; such as Sir Richard Musgrave cites in his affidavit history. Let us take, for instance, the evidence of the protestant ghosts, appearing on the river Ban, crying out for vengeance against the bloody papists. Were the evidence cross-examined, his tale would be found at war with his creed. Whence did his protestant ghosts come from? From heaven. No revengeful spirit issues from that abode of happiness, charity and peace. From purgatory? A protestant disowns such a place. We know but a third place mentioned, a doleful residence for ghosts of any description, whose tenants are not admissible as valid witnesses. One of the libellers' (Sir John Temple) account of the

* Temple's Hist. of the Irish Rebellion.

rebellion is so disgraced and self-confuted by glaring contradictions, that he appears to have been ashamed of it himself. " This we gather from a letter of Capel, earl of Essex, lord lieutenant of Ireland, Jan. 1674-5, to Mr. secretary Coventry, wherein we find these words: " I am to acknowledge the receipt of yours of the 22nd of December, wherein you mention a book that was newly published, concerning the cruelties committed in Ireland, at the beginning of the late war. Upon further enquiry I find Sir John Temple, master of the rolls here (Ireland,) author of that book, was, this last year, sent to by several stationers of London, to have his consent to the printing thereof; but he assures me, that he utterly denied it, and whoever printed it, did it without his knowledge. Thus much I thought fit to add to what I formerly said upon this occasion, that I might do this gentleman right, in case it were suspected he had any share in publishing this new edition."*

We have already observed the different provocations to insurrection, deliberately and perseveringly given, by the king's enemies, as well as his friends, to his Irish subjects; provocations, sufficient to disturb the peace of the best settled country;† horrible denunciations of ex-

* State Letters, page 2.

† The heads of the causes which moved the northern Irish, and catholics of Ireland to take arms, anno 1641, from *Desiderata Curiosa Hibernica*, vol. ii. p. 78.

1. It was plotted and resolved by the puritans of England, Scotland and Ireland, to extinguish quite the catholic religion, and the professors and maintainers thereof, out of all

terminating papists and popery, published in acts of parliament, and in the solemn league and covenant, first signed in Scotland, and lately by their covenanting partizans in great Britain and Ireland. Various petitions to the same effect from different parts of England, and also from

those kingdoms; and to put all catholics of this realm to the sword, that would not conform themselves to the protestant religion.

2. The state of Ireland did publickly declare, that they would root out of this realm all the natives, and make a total second conquest of the land, alledging, that they were not safe with them.

3. All the natives here were deprived of the benefit of the antient fundamental laws, liberties, and privileges, due by all laws and justice to a free people and a nation, and more particularly due by the municipal laws of Ireland.

4. That the subjects of Ireland, especially the Irish, were thrust out forcibly from their ancient possessions, against law, without colour or right; and could not have propriety or security in their estates, goods, or other rights, but were wholly subject to an arbitrary power, and tyrannical government, these forty years past, without hope of relief or redress.

5. Their native youth here, debarred by the practice of state, from all learning and education, in that the one only university here excludes all catholics thence; neither are they suffered to acquire learning or breeding beyond seas, of purpose to make them rude and ignorant of all letters.

6. The catholics of this realm are not admitted to any dignity, place, or office, either military or civil, spiritual or temporal, but the same conferred upon unworthy persons, and men of no quality, who purchase it for money, or favour, and not by merit.

7. All the trading, traffick, shipping, and riches of this whole isle, by the corruption of the state, are engrossed by the Dutch, Scottish, and English, not residing here, who exclude the natives wholly from the same; and who return the

some parts of Ireland, which were serious cause of alarm to Irish catholics; more particularly to those of Ulster, having the Scotch puritans planted in the midst of them, and threatened with a visit from Scotland, of an army of Scotch covenanters, in order to reclaim them from

product, and all their stock and coin back into their native countries.

8. All the staple and rich commodities of the realm are turned to monopolies, and heavy impositions against law laid on all merchandize.

9. The principal native wares of the land exported into foreign parts, unwrought and unmanufactured, thereby depriving the kingdom of all manual trades and occupations; and driving the natives to furnish themselves from head to foot, with manufactures from abroad, at very dear rates.

10. All their heavy and insufferable pressures prosecuted and laboured by the natives of this kingdom, with much suit, expence, and importunity, both in parliament here, and in England before his majesty, to be redressed, yet could never be brought to any happy conclusion, or as much as hope of contentment, but always eluded with delays.

11. Common justice, and the rights and privileges of parliament, denied to all the natives of the realm; and the ancient course of parliamentary proceeding wholly declined.

12. His majesty's royal power, honour, prerogative, estate, revenue, and rights, invaded upon, by the puritan faction in England.

13. The government of all his realms, his queen, children and family, usurped by the parliament of England, and especially by the house of commons; as likewise, the nominating and disposing of his privy council, judges, clergy, officers, navy, forts and castles, arrogated by the said house of commons, leaving his highness nothing, but the bare name of a king.

14. The many affronts and wrongs done by the said house, to the ambassadors of foreign princes, confederates of his majesty, residing in England, and their chaplains and ser-

popery by cutting their throats; it will be sufficient to give a few instances of these violent audacious proceedings, and of the continuance of grievances, by the puritan justices, for the express purpose of throwing the country into confusion, and depriving his majesty of its resources, in defence of his crown and life, against a rebellious

vants, against the conditions of their league, and the law of nations.

15. The gross injuries and scandal given by the said house of commons to the queen's majesty, and her chaplains and servants, in breach of the articles made upon her marriage.

16. The many horrid murders, robberies, pillages, waste, burnings, and other execrable cruelties, perpetrated of late by the protestant armies here, by publick direction of the state of this realm, upon his majesty's good subjects of the English pale, and other parts of this land, they not offending against the laws or peace of the realm, but merely standing upon their own defence; and this done them against his majesty's pleasure, and without his privy.

17. All the natives in the English plantations of the realm, were disarmed by proclamation, and the protestant plantators armed, and tied by the conditions of their plantations to have arms, and to keep certain numbers of horse and foot continually upon their lands, by which advantage, many thousands of the natives were expelled out of their possessions, and as many hanged by martial law, without cause, and against the laws of this realm; and many of them otherwise destroyed, and made away, by sinister means and practices.

18. Half this realm was found to belong unto his majesty, as his ancient demesne and inheritance, upon old feigned titles of three hundred years past, by juries, against law, their evidence and conscience, who were corrupted to find the said titles, upon promise of part of those lands so found for the king, or other reward, or else were drawn thereunto by threats of the judges in the circuits, or by heavy fines, mulcts, and censure of pillory, stigmatizings, and other like cruel and unusual punishments,

people and parliament. "The native Irish being well informed, as they thought, (in 1641,) that they must now either turn protestants, or depart the kingdom, or be hanged at their own doors, they betook to arms in their own defence, especially in Ulster, where the six counties had been forfeited."* A petition was presented to the English house of commons, "signed by many thousands in the county of Down, Tirone, and others, against episcopacy, and the established religion itself, complaining, that the most learned and seemingly moderate and pious prelates, did publicly, in sermons at Dublin, exclaim against and condemn the Scottish covenant, and the religion professed in Scotland; and therefore they most humbly pray, that that unlawful hierarchical government, with all its appendixes, may be utterly extirpated."† "These incentives to the insurrection in Ulster are chiefly insisted upon in that impartial remonstrance of grievances from Cavan, drawn up by bishop Bedel, a prelate too wise to be imposed upon, and too just and resolute to advance any facts, in excuse of these insurgents, of the truth of which he was not very certain. As bishop Burnet, in his life, owns that this remonstrance gives the best colours to their proceedings of any of all their papers, that he ever saw, I will here transcribe it entire from that bishop's copy. 'To the right honorable the justices and council, the humble remonstrance of the gentry and commonalty of the county of

* Dr. Anderson's Royal Genealogies, p. 786.

† See Prynne's Antipathy to Bishops, part ii. p. 369.

Cavan, of their grievances, common with other parts of this kingdom of Ireland: whereas we, his majesty's loyal subjects of his highness's kingdom of Ireland, have, of long time, groaned under many grievances and pressures, occasioned by the rigorous government of such placed over us, as respected more the advancement of their own private fortunes, than the honor of his majesty, or the welfare of his subjects; whereof we, in humble manner, declared ourselves to his highness, by our agents, sent from the parliament, the representative body of the kingdom; notwithstanding which, we find ourselves of late threatened with far greater and more grievous vexations, either with captivity of our consciences, or utter expulsion from our native seats, without any just grounds given on our parts, to alter his majesty's goodness, so long continued to us. Of all which we find great cause of fears in the proceedings of our neighbour nations; and do see it already attempted by certain petitioners, for the like course to be taken in this kingdom, for the effecting thereof, in a compulsory way; so as rumours have caused fears of invasion from other parts, to the dissolving of the bond of mutual agreement, which hitherto hath been held inviolable, between the several subjects of this kingdom, and whereby all his majesty's other dominions have been linked in one. For the preventing therefore of such evils growing upon us in this kingdom, we have, for the preservation of his majesty's honor, and our own liberties, thought fit to take into our hands, for his highness's use

and service, such forts and other places of strength as coming into the possession of others might prove disadvantageous, and tend to the utter undoing of the kingdom; and we do hereby declare, that herein we harbour not the least thought of disloyalty towards his majesty; or purpose any hurt to his highness's subjects, in their possessions, goods, or liberty; only we desire, that your lordships will be pleased to make remonstrances to his majesty for us, of all our grievances and just fears, that they may be removed, and such a course settled, by the advice of the parliament of Ireland, whereby the liberty of our consciences may be secured unto us, and we eased of other burdens in civil government. As for the mischiefs and inconveniencies that have already happened, through the disorder of the common sort of people, against the English inhabitants, or any others, we, with the nobility and gentlemen, and such others of the several counties of this kingdom, are most willing and ready to use our and their best endeavours in causing restitution and satisfaction to be made, as in part we have already done. An answer hereunto is most humbly desired, with such present expedition as may, by your lordships, be thought most convenient, for avoiding the inconvenience of the barbarousness and incivility of the commonalty, who have committed many outrages, without any order, consenting, or privity of ours. All which we leave to your lordships' wisdom, and shall humbly pray," &c.*

* See Curry's Rev. Civil Wars in Irel.

The petitions for the abolition of episcopacy clearly shew, that the main object of the puritans, in England and Scotland, was, the overthrow of the established church, richly endowed, and whose members were possessed of the principal power and wealth of England; not the poor conventicle of English papists, whose prosperity and number were inconsiderable, and as to power were a nullity. The denunciations against popery were, in England, to fanaticize the multitude against the establishment, as a branch thereof; and, in Ireland, to excite commotions, by proclaiming it a religious war, as Clanrickard says, in his letter to the king. That such was their intention, appears plain enough, from the proclamation issued by Parsons and Borlace, calling the insurrection a conspiracy of Irish papists generally; whereas, at that time, their information limited it to the descendents of the plundered northern Irish. Their refusal of arms to the catholic lords of the Pale, on their volunteering in the service of government against the insurgents, on the false plea, that they had not arms enough for the defence of the castle, while they had ten thousand stand of arms idle there, shews, that they wished not catholics to appear in arms against the rebels, but to implicate them all in that description.

A question here occurs, concerning the disturbances of 1641, which I have not seen proposed or considered. Did not the revolutionary party, in England and Scotland, plainly foresee, that, in case of their making war on his majesty,

Ireland could not remain neuter? If that country was to remain tranquil, its resources, in men, money and provisions, would, unquestionably, be at his majesty's disposal. Not that he or his father merited the attachment of a people, so long and severely persecuted in their persons, properties and consciences; but, because the terror of extermination, impressed by the speeches, writings and conduct of the king's enemies, would necessarily determine them in his favour.

Having now pretty clearly demonstrated, that the cruel, perfidious and arbitrary government of James and Charles, were predisposing causes to the troubles in Ireland; which, nevertheless, through the counteraction of the state of England and Scotland, would not have risen to a general insurrection, but for the assiduous exertions of the leading rebels in the neighbouring island, and their creatures here, unfortunately for the king and country, entrusted with the government, 'tis time to turn our attention to the hideous martyrology, published by protestant historians, of the massacres committed by Irishmen and catholics. Were the exaggerations literally true, the writers must own, that massacre and perfidious murder was no Irish invention. 'It was no Irish invention, to invite people to dinner, or treat of peace, in order to cut their throats, under cover of hospitality or the olive branch. It was no Irish invention, to murder people after surrendering, as at Waterford; or to surprize and slaughter them, while confiding in a negociation, as at Dublin; contrary to the laws of war among

all civilized nations. It was no contrivance of Irishmen, to offer pardons, on surrendering arms, &c. then massacre naked, disarmed men; nor were they Irish, who made the cannibal repast at Derry, eating eight Scotch prisoners there. Had they slain every one of the British, they would have only copied the examples set by Britons; first, towards the Danes, whom they treacherously murdered in one night; and next towards the Irish, myriads of whom they cut off by famine, and other detestable means.

As to the charge of massacre, so generally circulated through Europe by the enemies of Ireland, during the war of 1641, it shall be found to recoil on their own party, who first began the bloody tragedy with the massacre in Island-Magee. "An apology, however, is made for it, which, even, if it were grounded on fact, as I shall presently shew it is not, would be a very bad one, and seems at least to imply a confession of the charge. 'Tis pretended, that this massacre was perpetrated on those harmless people, in revenge of some cruelties before committed by the rebels on the Scots in other parts of Ulster. But as I find this controversy has been already taken up by two able protestant historians, who seem to differ about the time in which that dismal event happened, perhaps, by laying before the reader the accounts of both, with such animadversions, as naturally arise from them, that the time may more clearly and positively ascertained.

"A late learned and ingenious author of an history of Ireland, has shifted off this shocking

incident from November 1641, (in which month it has been generally placed) to January following, many weeks after horrible cruelties (as he tells us) had been committed by the insurgents on the Scots in the North. "The Scottish soldiers," says he, "who had reinforced the garrison of Carrickfergus, were possessed of an habitual hatred of popery, and enflamed to an implacable detestation of the Irish, by multiplied accounts of their cruelties. In one fatal night, they issued from Carrickfergus into an adjacent district called Island-Magee, where a number of the poor Irish resided, unoffending and untainted with the rebellion. If we may believe one of the leaders of this party, thirty families were assailed by them in their beds, and massacred with calm and deliberate cruelty. As if," proceeds the historian, "the incident was not sufficiently hideous, popish writers have represented it with shocking aggravation. They make the number of the slaughtered, in a small and thinly inhabited neck of land, to amount to three thousand, a wildness and absurdity, into which other writers of such transactions have been betrayed; they assert, that this butchery was committed in the beginning of November, 1641, that it was the first massacre committed in Ulster, and the great provocation to all the outrages of the Irish in this quarter. Mr. Carte seems to favor this assertion: had he carefully perused the collection of original depositions, now in the possession of the university of Dublin, he would have found his doubts of facts, and dates cleared most satis-

factorily; and that the massacre of Island-Magee, as appears from several unsuspicious evidences, was really committed in the beginning of January, when the followers of O'Nial* had almost exhausted their barbarous malice."

"Before I examine the several particulars of the foregoing account, I must observe, that the objection taken from the smallness of the place, as if it were incapable of containing three thousand inhabitants, is grounded on a misapprehension of some circumstances in this event. For the Irish that were destroyed, consisted not only of the inhabitants of the place, but also, and for the greatest part, of the country people, residing in its neighbourhood; who, upon the invitation of colonel Chichester and Sir Arthur Tyrningham, had fled to Carrickfergus for protection, on the

* "Sir Phelim O'Nial. This assertion has no other foundation but the depositions now in the possession of the university of Dublin; what credit is due to these, we shall just now see; but if any regard at all is to be had to such of them as have been carefully selected from the rest, and published by Temple and Borlase, in their histories of this rebellion, we shall find some of them vouching the contrary of this relation, viz. that Sir Phelim O'Nial did not order the cruelties he is charged with ordering, till many weeks after January, 1641. For by captain Parkin's examination, "Sir Phelim began his massacres after his flight from Dundalk.—Temple, Ir. Reb. "Now his flight from Dundalk did not happen till about the latter end of March following."—Carte. "Sir Henry Tichbourne's history of the siege of Drogheda, Mr. Carte, and most other adverse writers agree, "that it was Sir Phelim O'Nial that first began and encouraged these imputed massacres."—Carte. And Temple himself owns it "to be a truth, that those British, whom the rebels suffered to live among them, and such as they kept in prison, were

first eruption of these tumults. "The town of Carrickfergus," says Mr. Carte, "was then the place of the greatest strength in the North; and as colonel Chichester and Sir Arthur Tyringham had, on the evening of the 23d of October, received intelligence of the insurrection, they immediately, by beat of drum and kindling of fires, apprised all the country people round them of their danger; so that the poor country people, who had not yet stirred, flocked to that place continually, with all they could of their substance, (another temptation to commit the massacre) in such multitudes of men, women, and children, that the town was overthronged." The same author also informs us, "that colonel Chichester and sir Arthur Tyringham, invited several of the most eminent of the Irish thereabouts, who yet

not put to the sword by the Irish, until, in their several encounters they had with his majesty's forces, they suffered loss of their men, and so were enraged."—Carte.

"Sir Henry Tichbourne, who had the chief command in that driving of O'Nial from Dundalk, performed that service, and afterwards pursued it with such an amazing slaughter of the Irish, in them parts, that he himself boasts that for some weeks after, "there was neither man nor beast to be found in sixteen miles, between the two towns of Drogheda and Dundalk; nor on the other side of Dundalk, in the county of Monaghan, nearer than Carrickmacross, a strong pile 12 miles distant."—Carte. It is therefore not strange, though absolutely inexcusable, if this incensed leader, or rather his savage followers, should be provoked to retaliate, in some measure, such cruelty and destruction on the unhappy English, whom they had in their power. Sir Phelim himself, in his last moments, declared, "that the several outrages committed by his officers and soldiers in that war, contrary to his intention, then pressed his conscience very much."

remained quiet in their houses, to come to Carrickfergus for security; who accordingly went thither, but were made prisoners on their arrival."

"And because it is allowed, that Mr. Carte seems to favor the assertion, "that near three thousand innocent Irish were massacred in the Island-Magee, in the beginning of November, 1641," it is but just to produce the reasons which appear to have inclined him to that way of thinking, by inserting the passage at large, wherein they are contained.

"On the fifteenth of November, the rebels, after a fortnight's siege, reduced the castle of Lurgan; sir William Bromlow, after a stout defence, surrendering it on the terms of marching out with his family and goods: but such was the unworthy disposition of the rebels, that they kept him, his lady, and children, prisoners: rifled his house, plundered, stripped, and killed most of his servants; and treated all the townsmen in the same manner. This was the first breach of faith, which the rebels were guilty of in these parts (there was then no other insurrection in any of the other parts of Ireland) in regard of articles of capitulation; for when Mr. Conway, on the fifth of November, surrendered his castle of Bally-aghie, in the county of Derry, to them, they kept the terms for which he stipulated, and allowed him to march out with his men, and to carry away trunks with plate and money in them. Whether the slaughter made by a party from Carrickfergus, in the territory of Magee, a long narrow island, in which it is affirmed, that near

three thousand harmless Irish, men, women and children, were cruelly massacred, happened before the surrender of Lurgan, is hard to be determined; the relations published of facts, in those times, being very indistinct, and uncertain, with regard to the time they were committed; though it is confidently asserted, that the said massacre happened in this month of November.”*

“ Let us now try these different accounts by the only sure test of dates and facts. It is confessed on all hands, that the chiefs of the insurgents, through fear of the Scots in Ulster, (“ who, as the earl of Clanrickard informs us, were forty thousand well armed men, when the rebellion commenced; ” at the same time that the rebels were at least by half less numerous, and furnished with few better weapons than staves, scythes, and pitchforks, ”) published a proclamation, forbidding their followers, on pain of death, to molest any of the Scottish nation, in body or goods. ” Temple acknowledges, that this proclamation was for a time observed; and from Mr. Wallbank’s report, already mentioned to the house of commons, of the constant success of his majesty’s forces in defeating the insurgents in different parts of Ulster, from the twenty-third of October to the sixteenth of November following, we may reasonably suppose, that it was at least observed till that day; for it is surely in the highest degree improbable, that these chiefs would, at any time before, have wantonly pro-

* Carte’s *Life of the Duke of Ormond*, vol. i.

voked the resentment of so formidable a body of men, by any cruel outrage or hostile act. But it is unquestionably evident, that the Scots in Ulster did some remarkable execution on the Irish, several days before the fifteenth of November, the day on which Lurgan was surrendered. For Sir William Parsons, in a letter from Dublin, of the thirteenth of that month, to the earl of Clanrickard, acquaints him, as with a welcome piece of news, " that the Scots did hold the northern Irish hard to it, having killed some of them." And sir William St. Leger,* grudging, as it were, the Scots the honour of that action, told the earl of Ormond, on the fourteenth, " that had it pleased God that his lordship had been there with his hundred horse, and himself to wait upon him, the Scots should never have had the honour to put such an obligation on Ireland."†

* " This gentleman, who was lord president of Munster, seems to have been very well qualified for acquiring such honor. For lord Upper Ossory, in a letter to the earl of Ormond about this time, informs him, " that he was so cruel and merciless, that he caused men and women to be most execrably executed; and that he ordered among others, a woman great with child to be ript up, from whose womb three babes were taken out, through every of whose bodies, his soldiers thrust their weapons; which act (adds his lordship) put many into a sort of desperation."

† In the course of the lord justices letters to the earl of Clanrickard, from October 26th, 1641, to the 5th of the following month, there is no mention made of any murders having been committed by the insurgents on the English. But in the postscript of the letter of the 5th of November, they expressly say, " we have intelligence that five thousand

“ From hence, I think, may fairly be deduced the only reason, why the behaviour of the insurgents to sir William Bromlow, on the fifteenth of November, was so very different from that which they had before shewn to Mr. Conway, on the fifth of the same month, viz. because the massacre in question was perpetrated on their innocent unoffending people, in that interval of time; which, no doubt, provoked them to the above-mentioned breach of articles at the surrender of Lurgan, and to several other acts of injustice and cruelty in the prosecution of this war.

“ The deduction now made is so agreeable to dates and facts, that I am surprised to find this first breach of articles by the insurgents, ascribed to any other cause; especially to one, which appears manifestly repugnant to both. This cause, we are informed, was the repulse, defeat,

Scots have risen in arms against the rebels, and those Scots lie now at Newry, where they have slain many of the rebels.”

“ Lord Clanrickard in his account of the progress of this insurrection in Connaught, to January 18th, 1641, mentions not a syllable of murders committed by the insurgents, but of spoils, preys, and the like. In his letter of the twentieth of that month to the earl of Essex, he says, “ an archbishop, bishop, and many of the clergy, are in the town of Galway inclined to go for England by sea, for fear of the people, not so much for religion, as their great extortions upon them; this being a time to be mindful of former injuries; and, to speak the truth, I believe the greediness of some of them, and reports out of England, hath drawn much prejudice on the other English inhabitants of this kingdom. It is now told me they make orders among themselves, to relieve and preserve English tradesmen.”

and slaughter of a considerable body of the rebels at the siege of Lisburn, by a Scottish garrison stationed there; for thus the before-cited history relates the immediate effects, which that disaster produced in these rebels. "But such success (of the Scots) was attended with consequences truly horrible; the Irish incensed at resistance, carried on hostilities without faith or humanity. Lurgan was surrendered by Sir William Bromlow, on terms of security to the inhabitants, and permission of marching out with his family, goods and retinue; but all was instantly seized, and the whole town given up to plunder." Thus have we a cause plausibly assigned, which did not exist until many days after its supposed effect was produced. For the defeat and slaughter of the rebels at Lisburn, or, as it was then called, Lisnagarvy, did not happen, according to Borlase, till the twenty-eighth of November; but Lurgan, as we have seen, was surrendered to them on the fifteenth of that month, thirteen days before.

"Let us now see upon what grounds this massacre in Island-Magee is transferred, from November 1641, to the beginning of January following. One would expect to find an assertion so singular supported by some solid or at least plausible proof; but instead of meeting with any such, in the place before quoted from this history, we are only there directed to look out for it (where certainly it can never be found) in the collection of original manuscript depositions, now in the possession of the university of Dublin.

But we shall presently demonstrate the insufficiency, not to say futility, of proofs drawn from these depositions. And, in truth, if they were to be admitted as proofs, or evidence in any degree, there is hardly any thing so incredible or absurd, that might not with equal reason, be obtruded upon us for genuine history. Every suggestion of phrenzy and melancholy; miraculous escapes from death, visions of spirits chaunting hymns; ghosts rising from rivers, brandishing swords, and shrieking revenge, would have a just and rational title to our belief, having all of them received the sanction of these vouchers.”*

Every lover of historical truth will be satisfied of the futility of this huge collection of fables, in thirty-two volumes, from the character given of them by Warner, an historian no way partial to Irishmen or catholics, after having undergone the painful drudgery of their perusal. “ Besides the examinations, signed by the commissioners, there are several copies of others, said to be taken before them, which are therefore of no authority; and there are many depositions taken ten years after, which are still less authentic. As a great stress has been laid upon this collection in print and conversation, among the protestants of Ireland; and as the whole evidence of the massacre turns upon it, I spent a great deal of time in examining these books; and I am sorry to say, that they have been made the foundation of much more clamor and re-

* See Curry's Rev. Civil Wars in Irel.

sentment, than can be warranted by truth and reason."

"These is one circumstance in these books, not taken notice of by any before me, which is, that though all the examinations signed by the commissioners are said to be upon oath, yet in infinitely the greater number of them, the words 'being duly sworn,' have the pen drawn through them, with the same ink with which the examinations are written: and in several of those where such words remain, many parts of the examinations are crossed out. This is a circumstance which shews, that the bulk of this immense collection is parole-evidence; and what sort of evidence that is, may be easily learned by those who are conversant with the common people of any country, especially when their imaginations are terrified, and their passions heated by sufferings. Of what credit are depositions worthy, (and several such there are,) that many of the protestants, that were drowned, were often seen in erect postures in the river, and shrieking out revenge?"*

* "Dr. Maxwell, afterwards bishop of Kilmore, the most seemingly credible of these deponents; and "who" says Borlase, "was a person, whose integrity and candor none ever dared to question," has given a kind of sanction to these fictions, having described, in his own prolix examination, the different postures and gestures of these apparitions; "as sometimes having been seen, by day and night, walking upon the river; sometimes brandishing their naked swords; sometimes singing psalms; and at other times, shrieking in a most fearful and hideous manner." He adds, "that he never heard any man so much as doubt the truth thereof; but

“ Hundreds of the ghosts of protestants,” (says Temple, from these depositions,) “ that were drowned by the rebels at Portnadow-bridge, were seen in the river bolt-upright, and were heard to cry out for revenge on these rebels. One of these ghosts was seen with hands lifted up, and standing in that posture, from the 29th of December to the latter end of the following lent.”

As to the choice collection of affidavits, affirmed by the Doctor to be in his own possession, and for whose existence we barely have his word, since he did not favour the public with a single extract therefrom, we may know how little credit they deserve, from an anecdote related by himself. This anecdote imports, “ that soon after the restoration, when the claims in favor of innocents were canvassed, and the house of commons desired,* that none of those whose names could be found in the depositions, might be heard, relating to such claims of innocency, the duke of Ormond, though no friend to the

that he obliged no man’s faith in regard he saw them not with his own eyes; otherwise he had as much certainty as could morally be required of such matters.”

* “ The whole house, with their speaker, waited on his grace the duke of Ormond, with an address to that purpose; in which they proposed, among other things, “ that all examinations and depositions whatsoever, taken for discovery of the rebellion, or proceedings of the rebels and their adherents, as well during his late majesty’s reign, as in time of the usurped authority; and that all books, rolls and writings, remaining in any office, &c. should be taken for good evidence, in behalf of his majesty, to bar such person or persons of their innocency.”—Commons Journals.

Irish, for good reasons, rejected the proposal. The duke, probably knew too much of these examinations, and of the methods used in procuring them, to give them such a stamp of authority; or otherwise it would have been the clearest and shortest proof of the guilt of such as were named in them."

At this day 'tis not so material to know, how many were massacred by either side, as to discover the motives that prompted the parties to these atrocities, and the prime movers of the rebellion, at whose door all the cruelties are to be laid. First, it is notorious, as already proved, from the covenant, the denunciations of the English commons, the sanguinary petitions received and encouraged by them, that they kindled a fanatical enthusiasm for the extermination of popery and papists; a furious zeal for such infernal project being diligently propagated among the ignorant multitude. Nor were men of education exempt from the contagion; witness the anathema, pronounced by doctor Usher against any toleration of popery; declaring, on the catholics proferring a considerable composition for the relaxation of the penal laws, "that it was sacrilege to compound with idolatry for money!" Armed fanatics, thus tutored to blood, would think it meritorious to slay the reputed idolaters.

On the other hand, the leaders of the insurgents, as acknowledged by adverse writers, had agreed, that no blood should be shed, except where force was opposed. There was also another

obvious motive, besides difference of religion, that much more exasperated the northern Irish against the British planters. These men were, by violence and fraud, possessed of their estates, about thirty years before, and living in opulence; while the descendants of the most antient proprietors in Europe, or perhaps in the world, were pining in indigence, or emigrating for bread to foreign countries, than which no cause is more capable of exciting enmity. The royal robbers, James and Charles, prepared the combustible of very extensive discontent, and the puritans kindled the wisp. This will appear, from the places where the insurrection first commenced; countries, whose antient proprietors were unjustly dispossessed of their estates, which were partly bestowed, partly sold, to English adventurers.

“ The confederates, faithful to their engagements, rose at the appointed time, in different quarters. Sir Phelim O’Nial led the way: on the evening of the twenty-second of October he surprised the castle of Charlemont, a place of consequence in these days. Lord Caulfield, a brave officer, grown old in the royal service, had been made governour of this fort. With the simplicity and love of ease natural to a veteran, he declined the honour of an earldom, when offered by king James, contented himself with an hospitable residence on his estate, and lived with his Irish neighbours in unsuspecting confidence. Sir Phelim invited himself to sup with this lord; and he and his followers were received; on a signal given, they seized the whole family, made

the garrison prisoners, and ransacked the castle. Hence O'Nial flew to Dungannon and seized the fort, while some of his adherents possessed themselves of the town and castle of Mountjoy. Tandragee was surprised by the sept of O'Hanlan; Newry betrayed to Sir Conn Magennis and his train; and though the governour, Sir Arthur Tyringham escaped, yet several English gentlemen were made prisoners; and what was of still greater consequence to the insurgents, they possessed themselves of a considerable quantity of arms and ammunition. Almost all Fermanagh yielded to the fury of Roger, brother to lord Macguire. Every place of strength in Monaghan was seized by the sept of Mac-Mahon. Derry, Colerain, Lisnegarvey, or Lisburn, and Carricfergus, were maintained against the boisterous assaults of the rebels; Enniskillen was secured by Sir William Cole.

“ In the county of Cavan, both the representative in parliament, O'Reily, and the sheriff, his brother, were deeply engaged in the rebellion. They proceeded with unusual regularity. The sheriff summoned the popish inhabitants to arms; they marched under his command with the appearance of discipline; forts, towns and castles, were surrendered to them.....In the county of Longford, the sept of O'Ferghal* had been

* “ These gentlemen had deserved well of the crown, and were on that account particularly provided for by king James, in his instructions for planting of that country. But the commissioners appointed for the distribution of the lands, more greedy of their own private profit, than tender of the king's honour, or the rights of the subject, took little care to ob-

particularly injured by the plantations of James; and were now impatient to avenge their injuries. The county, like that of Cavan, was summoned to arms by the popish sheriff; every castle, house, and plantation of the British inhabitants was seized. Leitrim, another planted county, followed this example; so that within the space of eight days the rebels were absolute masters of the entire counties of Tirone, Monaghan, Longford, Leitrim, Fermanagh, Cavan, Donnegal, and Derry (except of the places already mentioned, and some inferiour castles) together with some parts of the counties of Armagh and Downe.

Further causes stated in their manifestoes; in which "the rebels complain of oppressions suffered by the Roman catholics; professing, at the same time, an inviolable loyalty to the king. While they acknowledge to have enjoyed some indulgence by his princely goodness, they represent the parliament of England as wresting the

serve these instructions; and the O'Ferralls were generally great sufferers by the plantations. Several persons were turned out of large estates of profitable land, and had only a small pittance, less than a fourth part, assigned them for it in barren ground. Twenty-four proprietors, most of them O'Farrells, were dispossessed of their all; and nothing allotted them for compensation. They had complained, in vain, of this undeserved usage many years; and having now an opportunity afforded them of redress, by the insurrection of their neighbours, had readily embraced it, and followed their example, (for it does not appear that any of them were antecedently concerned in the conspiracy,) as they likewise did, in laying before the lords justices, a remonstrance of their grievances, and a petition for redress; which, like that from Cavan, came to nothing."—Carte's Ormond.

nikg's prerogative from his hands, denouncing utter extirpation against the catholics of Ireland, encouraging petitions against the papists, and protestant prelates of this realm, to root out the one, and to depose the other. They complain that the government of Ireland has been successively committed to the hands of indigent and rapacious ministers, who, by inventions of fraud and oppressions had pillaged every order of subjects; so that their estates and consciences were exposed to the same tyranny. They declare, that as they have no hopes from his majesty, oppressed and despoiled as he was, by the arrogance of faithless and disloyal subjects, they had of necessity taken arms, in defence of themselves and of the royal prerogative; they had seized the strongest forts of the kingdom, to be enabled to serve his majesty, and to secure themselves against the tyrannous resolutions of their enemies; professing that they were ready to yield up those places at his majesty's command, when a course should be taken to secure them, and the protestants of the kingdom, his only true and obedient subjects, against the factious and seditious puritans.

“ The insurgents of Longford proceeded yet further. Instead of confining themselves to formal expressions of loyalty, they transmitted to the state an oath of allegiance which they had taken, together with their list of grievances, and their propositions for redress. They complained of the penal laws; the severity of inquisitions, and avoiding of letters patent; the restraint

upon the mere Irish of purchasing lands in the escheated counties; and the odious incapacity imposed on papists, of enjoying the honours and immunities of free subjects, without violence to their consciences. They proposed that a general act of oblivion should pass, without any restitution, or account of goods taken in the present commotion; that the penal laws of Elizabeth should be repealed by parliament, and an ample charter of denization granted to the mere Irish.”*

Thus we see the causes of the Irish insurrection, as laid down by adverse writers; whether we view their past sufferings, in person, goods, and consciences; or their serious and well grounded apprehensions of the future, from the infernal malignity, published openly by the puritanic faction, now overawing the king, and threatening to extirpate popery. Charles owed much gratitude to the catholics of Ireland: the puritans neither received nor apprehended, whatever they pretended, any harm from them. 'Tis easy thence to pronounce which is most guilty, the furious, unprovoked persecutor, or his victim, driven to the courage of despair. The whole of that war, all the massacres, desolation, depopulation and poverty, occasioned by it, are wholly imputable to the English government and people; so that it is superfluous to enquire how many were slain by either side out of war. Protestant writers, however, have endeavoured to swell the list of those who fell by the hands of Irish catho-

* Leland, Vol. III. B. V. c. iii. p. 123.

lics. Thus Warner: "The number of people killed upon positive evidence, collected in two years after the insurrection broke out, amounts only to two thousand one hundred and nine: on the report of other protestants, one thousand six hundred and nineteen more; and on the report of some of the rebels themselves, a further number of three hundred; the whole, both by positive evidence and by report, making four thousand and twenty-eight. Besides these murders, there is evidence on the report of others, of eight thousand killed by ill usage; and if we should allow that the cruelties of the Irish, out of war, extended to these numbers, which, considering the nature of the several depositions, I think in my conscience we cannot; yet to be impartial, we must allow that there is no pretence for laying a greater number to their charge."

"This account is corroborated by a letter, which I copied out of the council books at Dublin, written on the 5th of May, 1652, ten years after the beginning of the rebellion, from the parliament-commissioners in Ireland to the English parliament. After exciting the parliament to further severity against the Irish, as being afraid their behaviour towards that people might never sufficiently avenge their murders and massacres; and lest the parliament might shortly be, in pursuance of a speedy settlement of that kingdom, and thereby some tender concessions might be concluded," these commissioners tell them, "that it then appeared, that besides eight hundred and forty-eight families, there were

killed, hanged, and burnt, six thousand and sixty-two."

"After seeing this, in comparison, exceedingly moderate charge made even by the prejudiced commissioners of the rebel English parliament, what are we to think of the accounts of those massacres and murders which have been left us by our most seemingly impartial and approved adverse writers on this subject? What, I say of Sir William Petty's* cool calculation, that upwards of thirty thousand British were killed, out of war, in the first year of this insurrection, Or, of lord Clarendon's pathetic lamentation, that in the first two or three days of it, forty or fifty thousand of them were destroyed? Or, of Sir John Temple's horrible affirmation, that one hundred and fifty thousand protestants were massacred in cold blood, in the two first months of the rebellion?"

"There is no question but that the desire of revenge, and the fear of tender concessions upon a settlement, caused the commissioners to heighten and aggravate, as much as possible, this charge against the insurgents; and yet we see, that even their account of these cruelties during the whole time of this ten years war, falls infinitely short of that which has been given us, I will not say by Temple or Petty, but by Clarendon himself, during the first two or three days of it only. What shame for the noble historian, thus to

* "Petty was secretary to Ireton the regicide, and made an estate of five or six thousand pounds a-year by the Irish forfeitures."—Harris's Writers of Ireland.

have exceeded the very regicides, in calumny and misrepresentation!"

"If Sir William Petty (says a modern impartial protestant writer) had prejudices, it is evident they could not be in favour of the Irish, for he was one of the great gainers by their supposed guilt and consequent forfeitures. Yet after demonstrating that the number of protestants destroyed in the whole war by the papists, was not one-fourth of what it was reported to be, he goes on to shew, that before the war there were in the whole realm, but three thousand landed papists, of whom, as appears by eight hundred judgments of the court of claims, which sat anno 1663, upon the innocence and effects of the Irish, there were not above a seventh part guilty of the rebellion. And after assigning some motives for the Irish entering into this war, he concludes his chapter with these most remarkable words; "but upon the playing of this game or match, upon so great odds, the English won; and have among and besides other pretences, a gamester's right at least to their estates; but as for the blood shed in the contest, God best knows who did occasion it."*

* Philosophic Survey of the South of Ireland, p. 326.



